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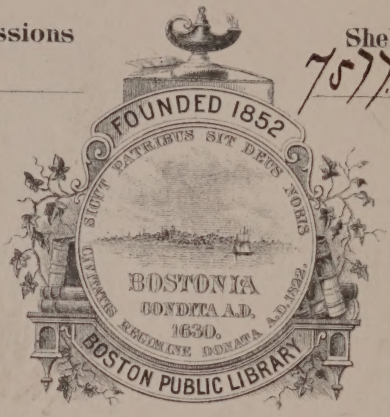


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# ADDRESS,

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BY ORVILLE DEWEY.

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# ADDRESS.

I AM about to offer some thoughts to you this evening, Christian brethren, on the subject of peace and war. If there is any thing with which the consciences of men and nations have to do, it must be with this; with the question, that is to say, whether it shall be their part to love or to hate one another, for that is the question of peace or war; whether to bless or to curse — whether to kill or to spare, for that is the question of peace or war. The importance of the question, the critical state of our own national relations to it, and the present extraordinary and perilous condition of things in Europe, would be sufficient reasons for taking up the subject with some earnestness, even if at the Anniversary Meeting of the American Peace Society, you did not already know that this is to be the topic of the evening.

In the consideration which I have recently given to the subject, one thing has impressed my mind more than almost any thing else; and that is the general want of all just apprehension of what a war is. We do not know what a war is. It is a maxim in philosophy, and it is true, that we really know only what we experience. But we have no experience of war; we do not know what it is.

How then are we to proceed in this case? A speaker desires to state his subject, to define his terms, to tell his audience what it is, that they are to consider and decide upon. We cannot adequately state, we cannot clearly define, the length, and breadth and boundaries, the shape and lineaments of this awful THING — of which men, nevertheless, talk so idly and flippantly, so coldly and mechanically.

We do not know, I repeat, we cannot tell, we cannot understand what a *war is*. An infant in his cradle about as well comprehends a violent altercation going on in words in the next room, as we in this cradle of peace comprehend what a battle is. When we are told, for instance, that fourteen thousand millions of lives, or as Edmund Burke

stated it as his belief, that thirty-five thousand millions of lives have been lost in war, we no more comprehend it, than the breadth of the universe itself,— the distance of those stars, from which it takes the light sixty thousand years to reach us. Compare these numbers a moment, range these 14,000,000,000 of victims on that line of light extending through 6,000 years. It would be more than 200,000 every year — a lengthening procession from earth to the farthest star, that would be enough, I had almost said, to cast a shadow over the universe. Compare the estimate with the world's duration. Fourteen thousand millions of lives would be more than seven thousand every day, more than four every minute, since the world began. Does it seem incredible? Not so incredible, when you consider that there has been hardly a moment since the beginning of the world, that war has not been carried on by some nation or tribe of people. Not so incredible when we learn that the wars of Jenghis-Khan alone are computed to have cost half a million of lives a year, and thirty-two millions during the fifty-two years that his slaughtering scythe was sweeping down the human crops of populous Asia. Not so incredible, when it is calculated that the wars of Sesostris cost fifteen millions of lives; those of Semiramis, Cyrus and Alexander, ten millions each; and the wars of Alexander's successors, twenty millions. Such estimates may of course err; they cannot be accurate, it is true; but still, it is believed on the best grounds that such subjects afford, that the Jewish wars cost 25,000,000 of lives, the Grecian 15,000,000, the wars of the Roman Republic, 60,000,000; of the twelve Cæsars, 30,000,000; of the Empire with the people of the East, 180,000,000; the wars of the middle ages and the nine Crusades, 80,000,000; of the Tartars, 80,000,000; of Africa, 100,000,000. And all this will be not so incredible when it is computed on good grounds that the wars of Bonaparte, under the more humane system of modern warfare, sacrificed the lives of 6,000,000 of people.

I take these statements from the Manual of Peace, published by the Secretary of the American Peace Society — a little book which I wish every body would read, which I think all parents would do well to put into the hands of their sons to read; for it is certainly fit and desirable that all persons who are to take any part directly or indirectly in the prosecution or support of war, should understand the subject, as far as it is possible to grasp it.

It is true indeed, that we cannot grasp it. Sitting here, in the bosom of a peaceful city, we cannot understand what a battle or a siege is. If this city were subject to a bombardment like that which Bonaparte inflicted upon Vienna; if 3,000 shells had been thrown upon it within

the last ten hours, " crashing, as one says, through the roofs of dwellings and exploding at the fireside, in the infant's cradle, or on the couch of the sick ; " if crushed bodies and mangled limbs were seen in every direction, and the streets ran with blood ; and fire and desolation swept through these dwellings around us ; and the awful hour of successful assault had come, and sack and pillage followed with all their nameless and inconceivable horrors ; then might we know something of war ; then might we know of what we speak, and whereof we affirm. And when we reason of war, we might reason of facts within our knowledge. Nor is such a fate a mere dream of the past, a story from far distant lands. Within the year past, something of it has been inflicted by our own hands upon Monterey and Vera Cruz.

This terrible subject of war, my friends, is yet far from being exhausted. I may not be able to say any thing upon it, to influence the public mind ; I may well distrust my power to do so, when so many wise and able men have been engaged upon it. But *somebody* must speak of it. The world must not be let alone, while cherishing in its bosom this horrible mischief. The civilized world has for some years been at peace with itself; and we, in this country have been accustomed, from our situation, to look upon the dark cloud of war as having passed far away from us. But recent events on this side of the water, have broken up that happy security. And Europe may at this moment be on the verge of wars, as dreadful as those which ravaged her fields thirty years ago ; that tremendous " war of opinion " which Canning predicted may be coming now. In past years I have often thought and said that the cause of peace languished for the want of an antagonist. The case seemed too plain. The cause was too good. There was not opposition enough to stir up the requisite zeal in its friends. But within a year past, a spirit has sprung up in this very country that offers antagonism enough. We see that the war-spirit has not died out of the human heart. Our people have snuffed the scent of blood from the fields of Mexico, and are,—not sick with loathing, nor faint with pity,—but maddened into admiration and sympathy for the bloody and barbarous spectacle.

I have sometimes thought that our telescopes may yet be so improved that we shall be able to survey, not only the structure of distant worlds, but the beings who inhabit them, and their mode of life, in masses and individuals. If some of them have advanced *beyond* us in such improvements, if by this or any other means they can look into this world from their lofty seats of wisdom and purity, if they shall have surveyed this world for six thousand years, stained with blood, rent with deadly engines, desolated by an endless succession of sanguinary

conflicts, if they shall have surveyed this world, with its besieged and burning cities, its gory battle fields, covered with sulphurous smoke, its bursting magazines of forts and citadels, if they shall have looked upon the slaying of its 14,000,000,000 of victims, dying in convulsive agonies, and upon thrice that number, smitten to the earth with the mourning and agony of bereavement — they might well imagine this to be the *hell of the Universe*, to which accursed spirits were sent to wreak upon one another their malignant passions, and to work out the doom of the damned!

I know that I am using strong language, and I shall attempt to justify it. I know that the mere visible aspect of things is not all that is to be considered. What other views are to be taken, what the philosopher, he who studies the problem of human history, says of all this, I will immediately consider. But suffer me also to feel it as a man; to stand a moment longer, before this accumulated mass of horrors, and to contemplate it as a man. Still I say we cannot grasp it, and we do not understand what we are saying. Fourteen thousand millions of lives sacrificed! what a portentous statement! what does it mean? what *is it* to *us?* A mere, unwieldy, unintelligible enumeration. Dissect it, take it apart; or rather take out one item from it. Life — one life — think what it is, and at what price we value it. It is good to live. It is good to stand upon the earth a living man, and not to encumber it as a dead carcass; it is good to feel the brightness of day, and the warmth of sunlight; to gaze upon the vision of nature, sky and waters, and the green earth; to cherish the ties of friendship, family and kindred; to lift the soul to the great Source of being. It is good to live; we cling to life with a grasp, a strength, and — when the murderous sword flashes before us — with a pleading agony to be spared, that we give for nothing else. And such life, individual life, pleading life, has been sacrificed by millions and millions inconceivable. If but one man were to be so bereft of life, if a scaffold were erected in the midst of this assembly, on which one such fate were to be endured, what would be our emotions? Stand up any one of you, or bring here from yonder street the poorest caitiff wretch, whose life is of the cheapest — let him stand up here to die, by gun-shot or sabre-stroke — and this house shall be filled with fainting and horror, and shrieks of agony. But millions upon millions untold of human lives have been crushed out beneath the bloody heel of war, without sympathy or pity; millions of children and women delicately nurtured, have sunk to death, and worse than death. Indeed the picture, should we attempt to paint it, would be too horrible to contemplate. Yet it is nothing to the reality. And the reality, let it be remembered,

*belongs to war* — is a part of it — cannot be separated from it — and it will be repeated, wherever there are battle fields and sacked cities.

But this is not all. The direct infliction indeed soon ceases to be felt. The groan dies away; the devastations are repaired. Thoughtless peasants plough the field of Waterloo; and the green mantle of nature's beauty and mercy covers the ground of gory sacrifice. I passed over it once, and softer flushes of "parting day," and sweeter beams of moonlight never fell upon the bosom of the earth than fell then and there. But on the fields of England and France and Holland and Germany, how was it then, and how is it now? Why is labor there so hard and so ill-requited? Why sinks the laborer amidst his toils, beneath over-burthening tasks, in weakness, in despair, and sometimes to very death? Because the land every where has to pay the war-tax — the burden and heritage of this dreadful war-system upon successive generations. This, at least, is one distinct and weighty item in the assessment. English labor has every year to pay $140,000,000, as interest on her stupendous national debt — the most of it accumulated in war. And then again, when we consider the immense diversion from all useful employment which the war system demands, the withdrawal from profitable labor of all those who have been engaged in fighting, or lying ready to fight, the incalculable and inconceivable sacrifice in every way, of time, of ability, of property, of means, — why, the earth might have been cultivated as a garden but for this; it might have been filled with churches, institutions of learning, and asylums for relief, and covered thickly with dwellings of peace and abundance. And more than all, the accursed demon of *hate* might have been driven from the world. Wanting the incitement and example of that legitimated and blood-baptized malignity which war furnishes, the nations might have learned to love one another, and to dwell together as brethren.

Such then is the case for our consideration, which is prevented by the custom of war.

And now what are we to say to it? How are we to solve the problem presented by this dread fact in the history of the world, *war* — war from the beginning — war among all nations to this day? I have wished that you should get some idea of this fact; though it must be a very feeble and imperfect one. Still, for its proper consideration, we must do what we can to understand it. It is no ordinary problem in human life and history that is here presented to us. It is one of stupendous and startling significance. It is not the misery alone that is to be considered. Disease and death have in the aggregate, produced more suffering than war; but they are

inevitable evils. Enhanced though they be by human sin and folly, yet God sends them upon the earth to be a part of the great world-discipline. But human hands have clutched the instruments of *this* infliction. Human hands have hurled *these* mountain masses of misery upon the earth. The old fables of gods and giants fighting with such herculean strength, tearing up rocks and mountains, were but imaginings and idealizings of what mighty men, warriors and heroes had done.

What then, I repeat, shall we say of this dread dispensation? That man is a fighting animal, that it is natural to him to fight, that there always have been wars and always will be, that the earth would be over-populated if it were not so? This is not saying much; or much I think that needs attention. That war is necessary to self-defence — is not much to the purpose. Wars are seldom of this character. And besides, all defensive war implies aggressive war. The exigency cannot arise but from invasion. If only defensive war were lawful, if no other were prosecuted, then there never would be any war; for there would never, upon that hypothesis, be an aggressor. The custom of war which we are considering, is altogether a different thing. It is the mutual resort of two nations to arms, as a legitimate and right method of settling their controversies. I wish this statement to be borne in mind. War, such as we have mainly to consider, is not the sudden uprising of a people for its rights, for its liberties; but it is the regular marshalling of forces and deliberate fighting on the part of two nations, to maintain each one its own claim, interest or opinion.

After this manner it is that war ordinarily arises between nations. The one says to the other, "You have got my lands, or you have impressed my people on the high seas, or you have robbed them or wronged them in some way; and I demand relinquishment, reparation, indemnity." The other replies, "we have *not* taken your lands, nor your people, nor their property, but only what was our own." What now is to be done? Here is opinion against opinion; what is to settle the question? Negotiation is tried, but fails. Still opinion stands against opinion, backed by the energy and pride of mighty nations. What is to be done? This is what they do. They take their stand, each on the disputed territory, or on the ships' deck where it is alleged that the national sovereignity has been violated, and they say, "we will see who can push the other off, or beat the other down." Or they attempt to assert the same things in battles elsewhere. For every battle, says a French philosopher, is the embodiment and symbol of an opinion — which is doubtless true; nations

contend as they conceive for the right: but what sort of a tribunal is a battle? The same philosopher says that the right always gains the victory — an assertion than which I can conceive of nothing more strange. If arms were arguments, or if brains were batteries, it would be more intelligible. But right has too slowly followed in the path of might, nay, has too often been arrayed against it, to allow any such hypothesis to be entertained for a moment.

What then, I repeat, is to be done? In such a crisis arising between us and Mexico, or between us and England, what is to be done? I answer, if mere strength is not an exponent of the right, if martial conflicts do not tend to bring such questions one iota nearer to a fair adjustment, then to rational people, to cultivated nations, such a resort ought to be as distasteful as a brutal fight between two farmers about a strip of land, or two manfacturers about a water-privilege. Those great parties, as well as these small ones, can find some other way. They can patiently negotiate; they can call in umpires; they can seek some arbitration. Something else can be done, than to fight. It ought to be intolerable to an enlightened age, for mere difference of opinion, for a claim of right, to whelm whole countries, with hundreds of thousands of their innocent inhabitants, in blood and fire and distress unspeakable. Something else can be done. Mr. Webster's admirable letter to Lord Ashburton on the subject of Impressment, did more to settle that question, than a hundred battles could have done. It was a noble and beautiful example of what reasoning, of what moral force can do.

What *was* done, when cases of *individual* right were in question? In the rudest state of society, before governments existed, resort to the strong arm was perhaps inevitable. If, in such an isolated condition, my neighbor should take my property, or come to burn my dwelling and to murder my family, I must defend my own; there is, by supposition, nobody else to do it; there is nothlng else for me to do. Whether I kill him or not, I must hinder him, and hindrance would soon come to conflict and bloodshed. But when government and law came in, then the necessity no longer existed; then another method of settling disputes was adopted. Without this, there can be no such thing as civilized society. And without some similar resort — that is to say, so long as the custom of war continues, there can be no such thing as a *civilized society of nations.* As individuals, we may be cultivated; but as nations and in our national conduct, we are essentially barbarous and brutish, till this horrible custom is done away.

I may say indeed, that the individual case expounds the national

one. In ages of ignorance, rudeness and violence, it was inevitable perhaps, that nations should fight. Nay, it was better that they should fight than succumb and consent to wrong, and suffer it to be enthroned in permanent strength and authority. There is indeed something still better, and that Christianity teaches us, than to resist evil; but that *better way* is not a mean succumbing to wrong. If, in a high and heroical spirit, if looking into the great and spiritual realm of things, looking to God, a man can consent to suffer wrong, that indeed is best and noblest of all. But that vision, the rude children of the elder world had not. They could see no other way but to resist evil, to avenge what they deemed to be wrongs; and such resistance, with their light, was better than tame submission to every violent assailant. War, in fact, was often the passionate action of a rude conscience. And then too, it may have been of some *service* to barbarous tribes, it may have afforded a sort of rude cultivation to their faculties, by taking the place of what would otherwise have been a savage stupor, and by opening communications between the more and less enlightened, for the general advancement. For there were no railroads, nor newspapers, nor travellers then; and no people can rise in culture without seeing something better than their own.

Such are some of the views of the war-problem, that the philosophy of history will suggest to reflecting men, and I accept them. But I say that they apply only to the earlier periods of the world, and ought to be as intolerable as they are inapplicable to more enlightened ages. They ought to be, if they are not. And I believe the time will come when a regular, solemn, protracted war and war-spirit raging between two civilized nations, for such causes as ordinarily provoke them to fight, will cover them with disgrace, as, in that respect, rude, coarse, brutish people. What do you think, when you see two *men* fighting, beating, bruising one another, covering one another with blood in the street? Why should you think better of nations who do that? Should you not in reason think worse of them? Nationality is a solemn thing, and should beget dignity and deliberation. And besides in war, the injuries are inflicted, not upon the immediate offender, but upon the innocent. War indeed is the sum of all injustice, cruelty, violence, distress and desolation — waste of property, waste of life, waste of virtue, of happiness, of every thing precious on earth, and it is altogether a resort too tremendous and awful for human beings, in the questions that their ignorance, prejudice and misconception raise between them.

I may be asked if I will not make an exception for the case of

crushing political oppression. Italy is an example that moves our sympathy for her, and indignation at her oppressors. What business has Austria in Italy? Why is she there, setting her armed hoof upon the bosom of that renowned and beautiful land? I have seen her foot-prints there. I have seen ten thousands of her troops, marching through that country, and stretching the chain of bondage from Milan to Venice. I have seen the scorn of the oppressor, and the agony of the oppressed. May they not resist this? — I shall be asked. May they not strike a blow for freedom? Suppose it were our case. Suppose that Russia had gained a similar ascendancy here; and that ten thousand of her troops were marching through *our* North country. American blood boils with indignation at the thought. Every stone of every altar-monument built upon our battle fields, would counsel resistance. Every village would be a Lexington or a Concord; every swell of ground would be a Bunker Hill!

But this feeling of the country—of which you must pardon this strong expression, for so do we value our freedom—yet would it be right? Would it be right with armed strength to hurl the tyrant from our bosom? Is it right for Italy thus to rise upon her Austrian oppressors? I answer in the first place, that such sudden and occasional outbreak is not of the ordinary nature of war. It must soon succeed or fail, and in either case, it must soon pass away. A few hundreds may fall in the contest as at Palermo; but it is not a regular, protracted war, costing millions of treasure and millions of lives.

Here, however, it may be said, my theory, the anti-war theory, labors with its chief difficulty. If men may fight in any case, if to resist or to redress the wrong they may fight, what principle is to *limit* their right to do so? If Italians, if Sicilians may fight, if our own forefathers might do so, to throw off the yoke of oppression, who may *not*—what *people* may not, when they conceive that they are oppressed, either by their own or by a foreign government? I would say then—understand my theory. For I do not contend that in every possible case it is wrong to take the sword. I do not deny to a nation the right to wage war in strict self-defence, or in defence of that liberty which is essential to national self-development and culture. If I may resist, and resist unto blood, the man, the kidnapper, who attempts to throw chains around me, to carry me to labor on his fields, to crush down my very humanity under that hopeless bondage; so may a whole people threatened with similar disaster, resist, and resist unto blood — striving against that sin and wrong. I believe that divine Providence has committed to every man, to a certain extent, the keeping and protection of himself; and that no man, no nation ought to submit to be

beaten down, to be crushed to the earth, to be torn in pieces without resistance. And the resistance, whatever it be, is of the nature of defensive war.

If it be asked then, what is to limit the right of lawful and manful self-defence; I answer, that which limits every natural right — the right to use our own power, property and faculties as we please — that is to say, justice, wisdom, kindness, humanity, and a fair consideration of the circumstances. There is no more difficulty about the war-question than there is about every other question of interfering human claims, interests and opinions; about controversy in religion, pleading in the courts of law, or the dispute of a man with his neighbor in the street or by the fireside. We may defend our opinion, our interest or our life; by word, by writing, by deed, by the bloody deed, if it is necessary, we may defend ourselves; but it is always to be done in a just and magnanimous spirit, with all possible moderation, with all the well-wishing to our antagonist, that is compatible with a just self-assertion and self-defence. The same principles, I conceive, are to preside over all human relationships. I do not hold war to be an excepted case; and I think that the advocates of extreme peace principles are apt to make an indefensible distinction, in their own minds, at least, between the resistance that costs blood, and that which does not. If I may resist a cruel assault upon my good name with the pen or the strong word, why may I not resist a cruel assault upon my life with the only means that will defend it? And the pen may wound and actually kill, as truly as the sword. But it is thought to be a lawful instrument, because it draws no blood. For my own part, I cannot regard that as the true criterion. It is not the instrument of self-defence that is evil or good; but the temper in which it is used. Society is full of war. In that war there are weapons as hateful to me — wiles, intrigues, lies, slanderous words — as hateful, I say, as swords or guns. And deeds are done every day around us, as cruel and atrocious as if they carried wounds and carnage and death in their train.

What then do we say? This; that self-defence is right, and therefore the instruments necessary to it are lawful; but that the action and the instruments are to be limited to what is necessary for the purpose; that no desire to inflict unnecessary pain shall enter into this solemn duty; that justice and humanity shall be our law and guidance; and that the sudden outbreak of a people against cruel tyranny shall be a righteous indignation, far different from the ordinary spirit of war.

But in the next place, even in a case of severe political oppression,

I should counsel forbearance rather than war. I think the time has come when oppressed people may rely on the moral sentiments of the age; not indeed for immediate, but for ultimate relief. Without pretending to decide upon the merits of the Irish Repeal agitation, I do yet admire the ground taken by its great champion, "No armed resistance; no force but moral force!" There is fast coming to be a public sentiment of nations — a new thing in the world — beneath which no people will like to sit down, universally reproached and dishonored. And then again I cannot help remembering that ours is a religion of love, forbearance and long-suffering. And although I do not say that the definite precepts of Christ — themselves set forth in the warm and affectionate language of extreme statement — are designed to apply to the case of an oppressed people; yet their spirit applies to all people and to all cases, and should ever be solemnly pondered and tenderly revered.

And in this spirit, if there ever can be lawful fighting, should the conflict be maintained. Resolved, strong-hearted, stern if need be, but solemn and sad, should men go forth, if at all, to fight for the righteous cause. To stand up before human beings, fellow beings, and to hurl deadly missiles into their midst — to shoot them or to hew them down by hundreds — to lift the match, or strike the blow which is to be instantly followed by flowing blood, and convulsions of agony and ghastly death — this is a terrible thing to do. If it must be done; if an army must take its stand before its country's altars and firesides; if, in no other way, can a nation's right to freedom, self-culture and sacred religion, be vindicated, I would have that army clothed in sackcloth, and awed to silence — no beating drum should be there, nor flaunting banner, nor gay uniform; but in sackcloth and silence should it stand there; as the executioner of heaven's justice should it stand there, to do the great deed of battle. This is the only spirit in which there can be christian fighting, if there be such a thing at all; and such ought to be its manner.

But what is the spirit and manner, what are the principles of warfare, in this enlightened age? To what does our civilization amount, in this respect?

First of all, what is the soldier's profession itself? It is held to be right and honorable in all countries. It is held to be as lawful, as compatible with a good conscience, as the farmer's, artisan's or physician's calling. What is it? What is the soldier's trade and business? It is to kill men for a living; — this at least is the ordinary motive. It is for a man to shoot his fellow-creatures, to ravage their fields, burn their dwellings, bombard their cities, to spread death and agony

around him, *for a livelihood!* Or will you demand a higher view, and suppose a man about to enter the army to reason thus with himself. "My country *may* need soldiers to fight its battles; and from motives of patriotism I will be one of them." But what, even *then*, is the compact by which he binds himself? Observe that a *militia* is a different thing; trained only for the *defence* of the country when it is invaded, and limited to that function. But what is the regular soldier's compact? It is to fight battles far or near, right or wrong, at the mere dictation of another. Conscientiously, reasonably, as a man, he is not to act, but as a mere machine. He is no more to reason about the matter, than the musket upon his shoulder, or the sword by his side. To ravage and burn his neighbor's country, to rend and tear in pieces, to mangle and slaughter his fellow-creatures, no matter how innocent they are, no matter how wrong he may feel it to be — that is what he engages to do. Has a human being any *right* to enter into such an engagement? I doubt it, and more than doubt it. And I believe that some of the members of our regular army in Mexico, have painfully felt the conflict between their conscience and their military duty. I do not deny that there are good as well as brave men in standing armies. But I do not believe that an enlightened conscience would permit men to place themselves in situations, involving the hazard and necessity of violating all their just and humane sentiments. For that reason I would not place a son or ward of mine in our Military Academy at West Point. I might have done it, as doubtless others have, without any thought of its leading to such a crisis. But it *has* led to such a crisis. And I would not bind a young man before he could well understand the bond, to fight the Cherokees, the Camanches or the Mexicans, when he might feel it to be a bitter and cruel wrong. I do not believe that men should be put to kill their fellows so.

Next, what is the character of the wars in which all the leading powers in Christendom have been engaged during the last fifteen or twenty years? They have for more than thirty years been at peace among themselves. So far is well. The nations were weary of their conflicts. They sought repose. They made treaties with one another, and sat down in the shadow of peace. But after a little repose, what followed? As if they were beasts of prey, as if the brutal instinct were too strong for them, as if animated by that common impulse, they all arose and rushed upon the poor barbarians upon their borders; Russia upon the Tartars and Circassians; France upon the Arabs; England upon the Affghans and Chinese; and our American States upon the Choctaws and Cherokees and the semi-barbarous Mexicans. It really would have been more respectable if they had continued to

fight among themselves. If a company of school-boys, wearied out with mutual strife, and finding it cost too many broken heads, had made peace among themselves, and then turned with common consent upon all the weak, lame and idiot boys they could find, the case would afford a tolerably fair parallel. I blush for our boasted civilization. What is the plea for this common onset on barbarism? "We want your lands, or we want you to trade with us — take our opium and give us your tea — or we want you to submit to our will in every thing, or" — what is perhaps more plausible — "some of your people have robbed or injured some of our people" — yes, some lawless savages have darted out from the shadowing skirts of barbarism, and done a violent deed in the night, — "and now we will penetrate in among you, and sweep away a whole nation for it." And withal, we have a self-complacent way of talking, each nation of us, about our stock and our civilization. The French writers familiarly speak of the war in Algeria, as a glorious extension of their civilization, and the poor Arabs, flying from their bloody fields and burning villages, are to be accounted fortunate in being brought acquainted with such a great people! We and the English talk of the Saxon race as worthy and likely to supplant nearly all others in the world. And I do not doubt that the Czar has some such idea of his far-spreading Sclavonic race.

And what method have we taken to vindicate our boasts of superior civilization? To practice upon the barbarians a sharper cruelty than their own; to put ourselves on their own level in principle; to embitter them for generations against the very name of America, England, France, Russia. A fine method have we taken of civilizing and elevating them! The Circassian, the Arab, the Affghan, the Cherokee, the Mexican, must be taken with a singular admiration for the enlightened sentiments and beautiful virtues of the Sclavonic, the Gallic and Saxon races. No, no; there is not even so much to relieve the case to the philosophical historian as there is to reconcile him to the old barbarian invasion of the Roman Empire. There, barbarism was brought into the homes of civilization, and might learn something from them. But all it learns from our invasions, is that there is a barbarism more adroit, more powerful, and wielding sharper weapons than its own.

No, if we would spread civilization and knowledge and Christianity, there is an easier and fitter and better way. We want not these bloody missionaries. We want not the war-trumpet to sound the gospel of mercy in the ears of the heathen, nor the flash of cannon to enlighten them. Give us the tenth part of the one thousand millions of

dollars that the war system costs the civilized world every year, and we will send missions of peaceful trade and enlightening knowledge and holy religion into the heart of Asia and Africa, and into the wilds of America. Up the Missouri, up the Ganges, up the Niger and Senegal, up the Amoor and Ural, should noble steamers go; into the wastes of Siberia and Tartary, to the palm-groves of Central Africa, and the dwellings of Timbuctoo, should caravans travel on missions of inquiry; noble, wise and good men should go with them, to bear new implements, to teach better ways to the poor barbarians, to open intercourses of trade and kindness with them; and they should say, "lo! the world is full of brethren;" and a voice from heaven would say, "the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ!"

And now, in fine, I expect to hear it said to all this,—"you, that are a minister of religion — you, that speak from the pulpit, can preach these lofty views; but they are not practical, not common-sense views; they are not philosophical; they are not statesman-like views; we that wield government, cannot act upon them; we *must* wage war; we must vindicate the national sovereignty and honor; we must, at the point of the bayonet, compel other nations to do us justice; we should stand disgraced before the public sentiment of the whole world, if we did not."

My answer shall be brief, and it is two-fold.

*Then*, I say in the first place, public sentiment must be changed. It *is* this doubtless that drives on the nations. It is this preposterous and unchristian idea of national honor, which has vanished in good measure from personal, and must be driven out from national relations. It is no necessity of things, I say, that creates war, but a way of thinking. That way of thinking must be changed. And here is work enough for Peace Societies, and this is their appropriate office. And in the next place, to the government plea, I answer that those who make it, do not know and consider and feel, what war is. The matter does not come home to them. It is far off, like these wars in Algeria and Affghanstan and Mexico. If those who decree wars, had personally to fight them out, we should have few of them. That emergency would begin to create some new ideas of government duty, and national honor. If that had been the way in which our war with Mexico was to be prosecuted; if it had been necessary for our President and his Cabinet and both Houses of Congress to go out upon the green field, and to meet the Mexican President and Congress and public functionaries, and there to fight out the battle for the national honor and for our despoiled citizens, and for land and indemnity and slavery,

and for ten times as many more reasons, we should never have *had* this miserable war!

But it is time that I should draw to a close. I am sensible that I have not discoursed upon this subject in the orderly manner, that is usually most agreeable to myself; but it broke upon me when I came to consider it, in stupendous masses of evil, in thunder-shocks of human calamity; and I have spoken of it as I could.

When the Almighty hand sent forth this planet upon its career through ages, he implanted certain principles in the beings that were to inhabit it, and left them, so far as effort and free-will were concerned, to work out their own welfare or woe. He destined them to improve in the long run; but how rapidly or slowly, he left them to determine. Slowly they have been struggling on, through clouding ignorance and violent social convulsions; the drum-beat has kept pace with the circling hours; the thunder of cannon has announced the opening and closing day, and garments rolled in blood, have liveried the green earth; and still the planet rolls on in smoke and fire and blood to its destined end!

But as the material orb emerged from darkness and chaos, as it came forth from the smoke and fire of volcanic eruptions clothed with serene light and peaceful elements, so do we believe it will be with the moral creation. The heavy atmosphere will yet clear up and the storm of ages will die away; the flood of our calamities will yet subside, and the dove of peace will go forth from the ark of God's mercy to rest upon the bosom of the earth. "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed, and their young ones shall lie down together; and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den; they shall not hurt nor destroy on all the holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

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Note.—It may be well to state here, that on one point in the preceding address, — the question whether wars alleged to be strictly defensive, are consistent with Christianity — there is a well-known diversity of opinion among the associated friends of peace; but, while tolerating this diversity of opinion among its co-workers, and welcoming to its aid all "persons desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good will towards men," neither the American Peace Society, nor any other Peace Society within our knowledge, gives its sanction to any kind of war; their sole object being to do away the whole custom as "inconsistent with Christianity, and the true interests of mankind." G. C. B.

# TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

The Society held its Twentieth Anniversary at 7 1-2 o'clock Monday evening, May 29th, in the Winter Street Church, Boston, before the largest audience ever assembled at any former anniversary, the spacious church being crowded to its utmost capacity, and large numbers obliged to leave for want of room. Hon. Samuel Greele, one of the Vice-Presidents, presided; and the exercises were opened by the Rev. William Jenks, D. D., of Boston, with prayer, and reading of the Scriptures. The Secretary then read an abstract of the Report, which was duly accepted; and the Rev. Orville Dewey, D.D., of New York, delivered the Address, for which the Society passed a vote of thanks, and requested a copy for publication. The former President having declined, Hon. William Jay, N. Y., was unanimously elected to the office. The charter recently granted to the Society by the Legislature of Massachusetts, was also accepted with entire unanimity.

## REPORT.

The past year, especially the latter part of it, has teemed with events of fearful omen to the cause of peace. The continuance of our own war in Mexico, the proposal of England to increase her military preparations, and the revolutionary movements in Italy, France, and nearly every country in Europe, might well awaken the most serious alarm for the general peace of Christendom. What the result will be, it is quite impossible now to foresee, and vain to conjecture; but the progress of these political changes, so sudden, rapid and startling beyond all former example, has thus far been attended among the people with so little violence, and with such proofs of their self-control, and their aversion to anarchy and war, that we have some good reason to hope, though with many fears, for the continuance of general peace through the civilized world. For a consummation so indispensable to the highest welfare of our race, every friend of man must devoutly pray; and such a result, if it comes, will be owing, under God, mainly to the new views and feelings on the subject of peace which have been diffused far and wide since the downfall of Napoleon, thirty-three years ago, and the rise near the same time of societies like our own for the abolition of war.

The time has not yet arrived for confident or safe speculation on the ultimate result of these wonderful events in the Old World; but there are some aspects which augur unexpectedly well for the continuance of peace, and the gradual overthrow of the war-system. Peace is essential to the success of these efforts for political reform; war would be sure to crush or mar them all. This point has come to be pretty generally conceded; and this conviction, standing out in such strange and cheering contrast with the wild, fierce war-spirit of the French Revolutionists in 1792, is the best human guarantee alike for the peace and the liberties of Europe. It is now admitted, that public opinion rules in fact, if not in

form, through Christendom; that government must henceforth be, as it always should have been, for the benefit of the people; that no kind of government, or mode of administration, can be sustained against their wishes by any number of mercenary soldiers; that these very soldiers, paralyzed by their sympathy with the popular demand for freedom, can no longer be trusted by despots in conflict with their subjects, but will in the hour of trial, join the latter against the former. Here is the practical omnipotence of opinion; and it supersedes the long-supposed necessity of war by the people for an effective assertion of their rights. There is a more excellent way — the slower, but surer and safer process of moral influence; the very kind of power which even now controls all the bayonets in Christendom, and turns them whithersoever it will. The millions of standing warriors in Europe, all armed to the teeth, and ready for butcheries more terrible than even those of Waterloo or Borodino, stand powerless before the voice of public opinion, bow to its demands, and lend themselves as executors of its behests against royalty itself. Thus does the war-system become a species of governmental suicide, the very gibbet erected Haman-like by kings and despots to hang themselves upon. The people meanwhile are fast learning how to gain their rights far better than by the uncertain, suicidal process of war; and this lesson, once put generally in practice, will prove every where the best guarantee both for liberty and for peace.

The late revolutions in Europe, moreover, disclose the main purpose of standing armies — the support of legitimacy against liberty, of monarchs against their subjects, the chief reliance of oppression in all its forms. Every king or emperor, when resisting popular demands for reform, relied almost entirely on his soldiers; and the people, seeing this, will soon learn, we trust, to discard these huge, insatiate blood-leeches of the world's liberties from time immemorial. Here is the worst foe to freedom; and Europe, unless she weaves this truth into her new policy, will ultimately find herself again in the gripe of despotism. God grant that this lesson, burnt for ages into her very vitals by the fires of war, may now avail to hold her outraged, suffering millions back from the sword! The beginning does indeed promise such a result. How different from the past! Fifty or even thirty years ago, such changes, or attempts at changes, in the governments of Europe, would have drenched that whole continent in blood; and the reader of its past history stands amazed at the peaceful progress of these new movements. All put together have thus far sacrificed scarce a tithe of the victims that Napoleon sometimes left on a single field of battle. It is a new, a wonderful era in the work of revolution, and full of promise to the millions hitherto trodden in the dust by despots under the iron heel of war.

We need not go into a more general review; but, turning to the progress of our cause the past year, we find, despite our own war with Mexico, despite occasional outbreaks of the war-spirit in other parts of the world, and the startling omens of war all over Europe, that more money has been given, greater efforts put forth, and a wider, deeper, more effective impression probably made on the mass of minds through Christendom, in favor of peace, than in any former year.

The Death of several Distinguished Friends of Peace—has occurred during the year. The Hon. Samuel Haven, of Roxbury, a steadfast friend of our cause, and long a Vice-President of the Society, died early in the year; and very recently the Hon. Jonathan Chapman, a Life Member, and formerly Mayor of Boston.

Our Proposed Review of the Mexican War — is in course of preparation; but the time has not quite come for a proper and full execution

of this work. We think it will come soon; and, if we get the peace which is generally expected, we shall proceed as soon as possible to gather from this war the lessons which it is so well fitted to teach. Some sixteen months ago, we offered a premium of *Five Hundred Dollars* for the best Review of the Mexican War on the principles of Christianity, and an enlightened statesmanship; a review of it in its origin, its progress, and the whole sweep of its evils to all concerned; to be written without reference to political parties, and to present such a view of the subject as will commend itself, when the hour of sober, candid reflection shall come, to the good sense of fair-minded in every party, and in all sections of the country; showing especially its waste of treasure and human life — its influence on the interests of morality and religion — its inconsistency with the genius of our republican institutions, as well as with the precepts of our religion, and the spirit of the age — its bearings, immediate and remote, on free, popular governments here, and through the world — how its evils might have been avoided with better results to both parties — and what means may and should be adopted by nations to prevent similar evils in future; our sole aim being to promote the cause of permanent peace by turning this war into effectual warnings against resorts to the sword hereafter.'

We know that some of the best minds in the nation are engaged upon this review; and we have reason to expect such a work as the friends of peace desire; a work of standard authority and permanent value; an able, impartial and effective plea for peace in the light of the Mexican war. We cannot now say precisely when it will be published, but probably during the present year; and, as soon as it comes from the press, we hope our friends will furnish ample means of circulating it at once over the whole country. This *must* be done, or the main object of the review will be lost; and for this single purpose we *ought* to have, during the next year, not less than *Twenty Thousand Dollars*. In no way could such a sum, or even thrice as much, be spent to better purpose. Public attention is now awakened all over the land to the subject of peace as it never was before; and, if several hundred thousand copies of the Review could in one year be put into circulation among our leading minds in every section, they would do much to revolutionize popular sentiment, and array it effectually against future resorts to the sword. Such a result is quite possible; and, if the friends of God and our country will only do their whole duty on the subject, this may be the last war our republic shall ever wage.

Petitions for Peace with Mexico—have been renewed the past year with a good degree of earnestness. We sent, on behalf of the Society, a petition for this purpose to both Houses of Congress at the opening of their present session, and urged especially upon Christians, as disciples of the Prince of Peace, the duty of importuning our rulers to stay the work of carnage and devastation. A large number have done so; and we are happy to note the fact, that so many of the petitioners, standing entirely aloof from party politics, remonstrated as *Christians* against the war as a glaring contradiction of their peaceful religion. One petition of this sort (from the Unitarians) was signed by nearly three thousand persons, and another (from the Quakers) by some nine thousand; and, had other denominations done as well in proportion to their numbers, Congress would have been besieged with more than half a million of petitioners for peace on Christian principles. It would have been a noble spectacle, a true and impressive testimony before the world to the pacific character of the religion we profess. Such a demonstration *must* have influenced our rulers; and the three or four millions of professed Christians in our country may, if they will in season array themselves as one man in solid phalanx against this common and terrible foe, render it ere long morally certain, that not

another war shall ever sweep over our land its besom of fire and blood. We believe that the demonstrations of displeasure made by petitions, by the press and the pulpit at the continuance of this war, have exerted an important, if not decisive influence in arresting its progress, and giving us at length the hope of a stable, permanent peace with our sister Republic. Had the people expressed no such displeasure, no indignant rebuke of the wild, cold-blooded scheme, broached at one time, for the subjugation of all Mexico, we might ere this have been committed beyond retreat to a crusade of piratical villany as gigantic and infamous as any recorded on the pages of history; one that would have made our name to the end of time a by-word and reproach, a hissing and a scorn to the whole world.

Our Agencies—have been increased somewhat during the year. Besides an agent at our office, and the services of our Corresponding Secretary as a constant lecturer, and as the superintendent of our publications and general concerns, we have had two Lecturing Agents continually in the field, and have lately commissioned two more. We ought to increase very much the labors in this department by sending well-qualified men forthwith into every State in the Union, but especially through the South, and down the great Valley of the Mississippi, where so little has hitherto been done in this cause, and where the war-spirit has consequently been so fearfully rife and rampant. We need such men not only to lecture far and near on peace, but especially to visit ecclesiastical bodies, large cities, and the higher seminaries of learning, for the purpose of enlisting both the pulpit and the press far more entensively, systematically and effectually in behalf of our enterprize. All this we have for many years been anxious to do, but have never had any thing like the amount of funds requisite for the purpose.

Our Publications—have been the past year more extensive than usual. Our Periodical has been steadily increasing its issues; and, besides the circulation of tracts and other volumes, we have published 6000 copies of our Peace Manual, mainly for gratuitous distribution to our legislators, and to ministers and Sabbath schools in the West. Aided by a donation of $40 for the purpose from the Rhode Island Peace Society, we forwarded a copy of this work to every member of Congress, and of the Executive Government at Washington. Our devoted co-worker, Isaac Collins of Philadelphia, raised in that city $215 to assist us in circulating the same work especially among legislators; and, as far as yet distributed, it has been very favorably received by them, and promises to exert a salutary influence upon those who must of course determine every question of peace or war. Nearly all the donations for the spread of this volume at the West, were received too late for use before the opening of navigation on the lakes and canals this spring; but we have begun arrangements by which we hope soon to give it a wide circulation in the great valley. The demand for this is very urgent; and we trust it will be promptly and fully met by our friends.

It will be remembered, that we undertook, some two years ago, to supply not only our colleges, theological seminaries, and other institutions of learning at home, but every station of American Missionaries among the heathen, with our thesaurus of information on this subject, *the Book of Peace*, comprising nearly seventy tracts from some twenty different writers, and making a densely printed volume of more than 600 pages. It may be proper here to state, that we are now beginning to hear from these books a favorable report of their reception and influence. From the Sandwich Islands we received in return a donation of five dollars from one individual; and we have letters from American missionaries in other parts of the world.

THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF OUR SOCIETY—is improving. We have at length put the balance on the right side of the ledger; our income the past year has exceeded our expenses; and, though the debt contracted before the resignation of our late Treasurer, has not yet been entirely paid up, the Society is now in a much better condition than it was one year ago. The receipt in only ten months ending on the first day of April, the date of the last acknowledgment in our periodical, were $4,010.91, exceeding those of the whole previous year $623.60; an increase of more than 25 per cent. over the contributions of any former period. Our expenditures for the year have been $3,936.18, leaving in our treasury a balance of $74.73.

A LARGE INCREASE OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS CAUSE—is imperatively demanded by the times. The present crisis more than any former one, calls aloud for them. Never were there spread all around us so many or so promising opportunities in this wide and blessed department of Christian philanthropy. The whole country is now open or will soon be, to our appeals; and, if the friends of our cause will duly meet these demands, they may soon raise, in a public sentiment thoroughly christianized on this subject all over the land, an effectual barrier against the return of war. Thus they might, by adequate efforts in season, have averted the war with Mexico. Had they betimes overspread the great valley of the West and Southwest with only such a degree of pacific sentiment as prevails in Massachusetts, through New England at large, this war could never have come. And how much would this have cost? Not one thousandth part of what this war will have wasted for ourselves alone. A few thousand dollars, $5,000 or $10,000 a year in this cause throughout the Great Valley for the last ten or twenty years, at most only $50,000 or $100,000 in all, would have sufficed under God for such a result. And where, in the whole circle of benevolent enterprises, could ten or even a hundred times this amount have prevented so much evil, and secured so much good? *No fifty or a hundred millions of dollars spent in any possible mode of usefulness, could repair the moral evils alone of this war, or do good enough to counterbalance those evils.* When will Christians, the friends of God and their country, come up as one man to the aid of this cause, and respond, with a prompt and cheerful liberality, to the full extent of its demands?

Our main, almost our only work is prevention; nor can we doubt that *proper efforts* in this cause will under God save our country henceforth from all war. Such efforts, however, would require a tenfold increase of funds. We must send forth our agents into every State to rouse general, if not universal attention; we must circulate our tracts, periodicals and volumes all over the land; we must put our standard works in all those higher seminaries which are training up our law-givers, teachers and other leading minds; we must enlist our thirty or forty thousand pulpits, and our fifteen hundred periodical presses in spontaneous, effective advocacy of this cause; nor should we pause till every family and every heart in the nation is reached with the main facts and arguments of peace. All this would probably insure ere long our permanent peace; but to do all this would require full ten times the amount of past contributions to this cause. It can be done with adequate means; but, with only a few hundred dollars a year, it would be as preposterous to hope for the full accomplishment of an object so vast and momentous, as it would be to think of pushing a tunnel four miles long through Hoosac mountain by an expenditure of one thousand dollars, when every body knows that some two millions will be necessary for the purpose.

THE LABORS OF OUR CO-WORKERS ABROAD—are giving us in this respect an example well worthy of our imitation. The friends of peace in England have done more than all the rest put together. The London Peace

Society has generally raised nearly thrice as much money as our own Society, and for a single incidental object the last year, raised in a month or two between three and four thousand dollars. Their government proposed to augment their military preparations, with a consequent increase of taxes; and the London Society, promptly buckling on its armor of peaceful resistance by moral means, succeeded in defeating the measure, and thus saved millions on millions of dollars to the country. They have shown a similar activity in other departments; and we doubt not they have exerted an important influence in giving a peaceful tone and impulse to public sentiment, not only in England, but throughout Europe.

Collateral Auxiliary Agencies—have been at work the past year for our cause through the world; but we have no time now to discuss or even mention them all. The operations of the League of Universal Brotherhood;—the greatly increased activity in this cause of its devoted pioneers for two centuries, the Society of Friends;—the strong, decided action taken in their resolutions by not a few of our ecclesiastical bodies;—the sermons on peace, spontaneously preached by a multitude of ministers in all denominations among us;—the voices which nearly the whole religious press through the land, but especially at the North, has sent forth from week to week, and month to month, against the war with Mexico;—the facts, and arguments, and remonstrances with which many of our ablest and most widely circulated political papers have constantly teemed;—the discussions in both Houses of Congress, admitting the guilt and evils of war in general, and making such disclosures about this war in particular as can hardly fail to fill the people with abhorrence and disgust—these and a variety of other influences have been steadily co-operating with us to bring the custom of war into growing disrepute, and to put it eventually under the stern, irrevocable ban of public opinion.

A Charter for the Society—has been obtained, without objection or reluctance, from the Legislature of Massachusetts at its last session. Your Committee were induced to ask it for essentially the same reasons that have led nearly all kindred associations to seek the privilege of acting as corporate bodies. So long as we remain without a charter, we are not known in law, and are unable to inherit or hold any property, or transact any business in a legally responsible way. If legacies are left us, we are liable to lose them; if persons defraud us, we can have no legal redress; if liabilities are incurred beyond our means, every member may be held responsible in law for them all, and subjected to vexatious prosecutions; and all our pecuniary transactions must be done in the name and at the risk of individuals. A charter obviates all these difficulties; and seeing no possible evil likely to arise from a simple act of incorporation, the Committee have procured one, and submitted it to the Society for their acceptance or rejection.

## Abstract of the Treasurer's Annual Account.

*American Peace Society in Account with John Field, Treasurer.*

| Dr. | | Cr. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To balance against the Society from last account, | $17 12 | By receipts acknowledged Advocate of Peace, July & Aug., | $ 358 02 |
| " Stereotypes, paper, printing, rent and care of office, postage, stationary, &c., &c., | 1517 08 | " " " Sep. & Oct., | 827 99 |
| " Part payment on debt due to former Treasurer, | 500 00 | " " " Nov. & Dec. | 1027 11 |
| " Agencies with their travelling, and other incidental expenses, | 1901 98 | " " " March & April, | 1227 74 |
| " Balance to new account, | 74 73 | " " " May & June, | 571 05 |
| | $4010 91 | | $4010 91 |

## COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND FORTY EIGHT.

*An Act to Incorporate the American Peace Society.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

SECTION 1. Samuel Greele, John Tappan, Simon Greenleaf, their associates and successors, are hereby made a Corporation by the name of the American Peace Society, for the promotion of universal peace, with all the powers and privileges, and subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities set forth in the forty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes.

SECTION 2. The said Corporation may take and hold real and personal estate, the net annual income of which shall not exceed the sum of three thousand dollars.

House of Representatives, February 23d, 1848. Passed to be enacted.
FRANCIS B. CROWNINSHIELD, Speaker.

In Senate, February 24, 1848. Passed to be enacted.
ZENO SCUDDER, President.

February 24, 1848. Approved. GEO. N. BRIGGS.

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— Early travels in Palestine, narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, and Maundrell..... 846.7

WRIGHT, W. B. Highland rambles .....1348.10

WRITING. Cox, E. W. Art of. 1397.3

— Graham, G. F. English style ..... 406.18

WRITING, The, on the wall. Morton, T.....1368.3; 1388.5

WROTTESLEY, J., *lord*. Navigation.....v. 3 of 365.14

WUNNISSOO. Allen, W..... 338.8

WYATT, *Sir* T. Poetical works. Lond..... 339.1

— – Same. Bost. ..... 1319.8

WYCHERLEY, W. The country girl. Altered by D. Garrick.....v. 3 of 331.1
v. 16 of 354.1; v. 1 of 1389.1

— The plain dealer....v. 3 of 331.1

WYNTER, A. (*Werdna Retnyw.*) Curiosities of civilization ..... 893.12

— Our social bees..... 883.15

— Pictures of town and country life..... 395.2

— Subtle brains and lissom fingers ..... 882.18

WYSE, G. Pictures of Scottish life..... 1325.7

WYSS, J. R. von, and Montolieu, I. P. de B. de. The Swiss family Robinson. Vol. 2..... 1859.2

XENOPHON. Whole works . 872.10

— Minor works ..... 844.6

— Anabasis. [Also the Cyropædia]. N. Y. 2 v..... 830.8

— Anabasis and Memorabilia. Lond..... 844.4

— Cyropædia, and Hellenics. 844.5

XIMENA. Cibber, C...v. 3 of 357.13
v. 13 of 1389.1

YAJNADATTA, Death of. *See* Milman, H. H.....v. 3 of 327.9

YANKEE drolleries. Sala, G. A. ..... 1886.7

YANKEE land. Logan, C. A. 1377.7
1378.2, 14; 1388.28

YANKEE peddler. Barnett, M. ..... 1377.3

YARROW revisited. Wordsworth, W..... 311.1
344.5; v. 3 of 359.12
v. 3 of 1319.7; 1409.6

YEAR, The. Pierce, W. L. 369.8

YEAR book of daily recreations. Hone, W. ..... 892.13

YORKSHIRE tragedy....v. 1 of 331.2

YOUATT, W. Diseases of the horse. *See* Martin, W. C. L. ..... 840.44

YOUNG, E. Works. 3 v. .. 314.12

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Life; The complaint, or, night thoughts. II. Last day; The force of religion; Love of fame; Epistles to Mr. Pope; Paraphrase on part of the book of Job; Ocean; Sea piece; Busiris, king of Egypt. III. The revenge; The brothers; The centaur not fabulous, in six letters on the life in vogue.

— Poetical works. Lond. 2 v. 329.14

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Life, by J. Mitford; The complaint, or night thoughts. II. The last day; The force of religion; Love of fame; Ocean; Paraphrase on part of the book of Job; Miscellaneous; Reflections on the public situation of the kingdom; Resignation; On the death of Queen Anne; The instalment; Epistles.

— – Same. Bost. 2 v..... 1319.9

*Contents.*—Same as preceding.

— The brothers.....v. 2 of 331.1

— The complaint, or night thoughts.....v. 1 of 312.1

— Love of fame .....v. 1 of 312.1

— The revenge .....v. 2 of 331.1
v 12 of 354.1

YOUNG, J. R. Rudimentary treatise on arithmetic .. 829.18

— – Key to Rudimentary treatise on arithmetic.. 829.19

YOUNG America. Halleck, F. G..... 372.16

YOUNG America in Wall-street. Train, G. F. ... 877.7

YOUNG Crusoe, The. Hofland, B. ..... 1859.8

YOUNG debater and chairman's asistant .....1379.11

YOUNG lady's book..... 853.15

YOUNG man, Letters to a. De Quincey, T. ..... 905.1

YOUNG New York. Wilkins, E. G. P. .....1369.2; 1388.34

YOUNG scamp. Stirling, E. 1377.17; 1379.10, 24

YOUNG ward. Amalie, M. F. A. .....v. 2 of 352.1

YOUNG widow. Rodwell, T. G.....1376.10; 1379.16

YOUTHFUL queen. Shannon, C.....1369.3; 1378.2; 1388.7, 32

YRIARTE, T. de. Literary fables ..... 1357.8

YULE-TIDE stories. Thorpe, B. ..... 846.12

Z., Q. Alaska..... 1378.4

ZAPOLYA. Coleridge, S. T. v. 2 of 327.10; v. 7 of 886.2

and speeches. Bost. 1852..... 861.4
— – Same. Bost. 1867..... 1815.4
WIRT, W. Letters of the British spy. Balt..... 909.6
— – Same. N. Y..... 909.5
— The old bachelor. 2 v... 850.30
WISDOM. Book of..... 1817.9
— Quotations of..... 1837.1
WISDOM of the ancients. Bacon, F., *lord*..... 858.9 868.20; v. 1 of 901.2
WIT. Book of..... 1817.9
— Burton, W. E. Cyclopædia of..... 901.7
— Jerrold, D. Specimens of. 884.18
— Quotations of..... 1837.1
— Smith, Sydney. Wit and wisdom.....883.7; 896.5
— Valentine, W. Budget of. 1886.6
WIT at several weapons. Beaumont, F. .....v. 4 of 351.2
WIT without money. Beaumont, F. .....v. 4 of 351.2
WITCH, The. Middleton, T. v. 3 of 331.2
WITCH of Edmonton. Forde, J. ...v. 2 of 353.9; v. 2 of 359.7
WITCHCRAFT, Letters on. Scott, *Sir* W..... 399.2 810.13; v. 8 of 902.1
WITHER, G. The shepheards hunting..... 312.11
WITS, The. Davenant, *Sir* W. .....v. 1 of 331.2
WITTICH, W. Curiosities of physical geography. 2 v..... 850.21
— Visit to the western coast of Norway..... 850.22
WIVES as they were, and maids as they are. Inchbald, E.....v. 23 of 354.1
WIVES of England. Ellis, S. S..... 908.2
WIZARD of the wave. Haines, J. T. ..1369.5; 1378.19; 1388.29
WOLFE of the knoll. Marsh, C. C..... 374.13
WOLSEY, T., Life of..... 365.18
WOLVES, The..... 889.31
WOMAN. Charles, E. The women of the gospels.. 1328.1
— Goodrich, S. G. Lives of celebrated women. v. 6 of 1869.1
— Graves, A. J. Woman in America ..... 820.61
— Harbaugh, H. The true glory of..... 896.8
— Hemans, F. (D.) Records of .....v. 2 of 324.2 v. 2 of 347.2; 1409.4
— MacIntosh, M. J. Woman in America..... 888.23
— More, H. Strictures on female education ..v. 6 of 907.2
of..... 843.2

*See also* Woman's rights tracts.

WOMAN, Triumph of. Southey, R. 311.3, 13; v. 2 of 1318.7
WOMAN-HATER, The. Beaumont, F. .....v. 1 of 351.2
WOMAN, A, killed with kindness. Heywood, J..v. 2 of 331.2
WOMAN, The, who dared. Sargent, E.....1348.22
WOMAN'S prize, The. Beaumont, F.....v. 7 of 351.2
WOMAN'S rights tracts..... 878.8

*Contents.*—Phillips, W., Speech at Worcester, Oct., 1851; Parker, T., Sermon of the public function of woman; Mill, Mrs. J. S., Enfranchisement of women; Higginson, T. W., Woman and her wishes; Nichols, C. I. J., Responsibilities of woman.

WOMAN'S, A, thoughts about women. Craik, D. (M.) M.....874.7, 8
WOMAN'S wit. Cibber, C. v. 1 of 357.13
WOMAN'S wit. Knowles, J. S.....v. 2 of 1357.1
WOMEN pleased. Beaumont, F.....v. 7 of 351.2
WOMEN rule.....1355.10
WONDER, The, a woman keeps a secret. Centlivre, S. .....v. 4 of 331.1 v. 11 of 354.1; 1369.15; 1379.7 1384.1; 1388.25; v. 6 of 1389.1
WONDERS of the human body. Le Pileur, A..... 149.30
WOOD, C. A. F. The Irish broom-maker ..1376.10; 1378.6
WOOD, W. B. Personal recollections of the stage. 356.12
WOOD-NOOK wells. Howitt, W..... 825.5
WOODEN booksellers and miseries of authorship. Fessenden, T. G. ..... 349.19
WOODHOUSELEE, *Lord*. *See* Tytler, A. F.
WOODLAND, field, and garden. Pratt, A..... 850.5
WOODSTOCK. Scott, *Sir* W.....v. 5 of 902.1
WOODWARD, S. P. Manual of the mollusca. 2 v... 829.7
WOODWORTH, F. C. American miscellany of entertaining knowledge ..... 1828.5
WOODWORTH, S. The forest rose.....1369.19; 1379.26
WOOLER, J. P. Love in livery ..... 1377.8 1379.8, 10; 1383.1; 1388.38
— A man without a head...1377.15 1378.11; 1379.13
WORD to the wi P.....
WORDS, Study R. C.....
WORDS for the J. W. .....
WORDS from th
WORDSWORTH, plete poet Phil. .....

*Contents.*— in youth; The ems referring t childhood; Po the affections; naming of pla the fancy; Poe ination; Misc nets; Memoria Scotland; Poer national indepe erty; Sonnets erty and order the punishmen morials of a tou nent; The Yarrow revisit posed or sugg tour in the su Memorials of 1837; The wh stone; Ecclesi Poems of sent flection; Eveni Miscellaneous tions from Ch ized; Inscripti ferring to the p Epitaphs and The prelude; Appendix, pre

— Poetical wo 6 v. .....

*Contents.*— written in yout ers; Poems r period of chil founded on the Poems on t places; Poems Poems of the Miscellaneous Memorials of land; Poems d tional independ ty; Memorials continent; Men in Italy; The Yarrow revisite ems. IV. The Rylstone; Ecc nets; Evening Poems, compos during a tour mer of 1833; P ment and refle dedicated to libe Sonnets upon t of death. V. poems; Inscri tions from Cha ized; Poems, re period of old and elegiac piec prefaces, etc. ursion.

— – Same. Bos

*Contents.*—Vo as preceding. lude.

(J. C.) F. von ..... 818.10
WILKES, C. United States exploring expedition, 1838-42. 2 v..... 879.16
WILKIE, F. B. "Walks about Chicago," and army and miscellaneous sketches. 1815.9
WILKINS, E. G. P. My wife's mirror .....1376.13
— Young New York.1369.2; 1388.34
WILKINS, G. The miseries of inforced marriage. v. 2 of 331.2
WILKINS, J. H. Civilization. 1368.4
WILKS, T. E. Bamboozling. 1376.3 1378.9; 1388.21
— Ben the boatswain .....1368.10 1378.17
— The captain's not a-miss. 1377.1; 1388.16
— The crown prince.....1376.13 1378.5; 1388.20
— Michael Erle..1369.9; 1379.5, 21
— Raffaelle the reprobate. 1369.14; 1379.26
— The seven clerks..... 1368.6 1381.3; 1388.9
— Sudden thoughts.....1377.12 1379.8, 9; 1388.24
— Wenlock of Wenlock. 1368.8; 1388.39
WILL, The, and the way. Calvert, G. H..... 356.4
WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY. Chronicle of the kings of England, to the reign of King Stephen..... 846.3
WILLIAM Tell. Knowles, J. S. .....v. 1 of 1357.1; 1367.5
WILLIAMS, J. Life and actions of Alexander the Great. Lond..... 399.12
— - Same. N. Y..... 810.8
WILLIAMS, R. Bunsen's biblical researches ..... 1839.1
WILLIAMS, Theophilus. Academical stenography ... 403.2
WILLIAMS, Thomas. Out to nurse.....1377.13; 1379.9
— and Harris, A. Ruth Oakley .....1369.14; 1378.8
WILLIAMS, Thomas J. A cure for the fidgets.....1378.22
— "Ici on parle Français".1377.19
— Turn him out .....1377.18
WILLIBALD. Narrative. *See* Wright, T. ..... 846.7
WILLIS, N. P. The convalescent ..... 903.7
— Dashes at life with a free pencil. 3 v..... 891.1

*Contents.* — Vol. I, II. Stories of European life. II. Stories of American life. III. Miscellanies; Scripture sketches.

— - Ephemera ..... 891.2

Brown university, 1831. With other poems ..... 324.3
— Poems, sacred, passionate, and humorous..... 343.7
— Rural letters and other records of thought at leisure ..... 904.15
WILLMOTT, R. A. Journal of summer time in the country ..... 899.19
— Pleasures, objects, and advantages of literature. 395.6
WILLOW copse. Boucicault, D. (L.)..... 1369.9 1378.10; 1379.1; 1388.18
WILLS, W. H. Old leaves: gathered from Household words ..... 903.19
WILLSON, F. The old sergeant, and other poems. 1328.2
WILSON, A., and Bonaparte, C. L. American ornithology. 4 v. ..... 830.66
WILSON, F. B. Book of recitations and dialogues. With instructions in elocution and declamation. 1397.5
WILSON, G. Electricity and the electric telegraph: with the Chemistry of the stars.....409.31; 1655.24
— The five senses; or, gateways to knowledge..... 904.21
WILSON, H. B. The national church ..... 1839.1
WILSON, James. Discovery and adventure in Africa. *See* Murray, H. ..... 810.18
— British India. *See* Murray, H..... 810.51
WILSON, John. History of Switzerland ..... 368.7
WILSON, *Prof.* John. (*Christopher North.*) City of the plague .....v. 3 of 312.1
— The convict.....v. 3 of 312.1
— Recreations of Christopher North ..... 863.10
— and others. Noctes ambrosianæ. 5 v..... 865.1
WILSON, John, *printer.* Treatise on English punctuation ..... 405.17
WILSON, R. Poems ..... 349.17
WINCHESTER college, School life at. Mansfield, R. B.1817.24
WINDSOR forest. Pope, A. v. 1 of 335.1 v. 1 of 339.3; v. 1 of 835.16 v. 1 of 1318.1; 1409.3
WINE-MAKING. Donovan, M. .....v. 1 of 408.8
WINES, Modern. Redding, C..... 815.10
WINNING a husband. Macfarren, — .....1376.16; 1378.4

— — Study of natural philosophy ..... 819.2
— — Warming and ventilation ..... 819.40
— — Varley, D. Rudimentary treatise on mineralogy ..... 819.5
— — Weale, J. Dictionary of terms in architecture, engineering, mining, surveying, etc. ..... 819.26
— Wiggins, J. Embanking lands from the sea ..... 829.13
— — Woodward, S. P. Manual of the mollusca ..... 829.7
— — Woolhouse, W. S. B. Differential calculus .... 829.31
— — Young, J. R. Rudimentary treatise on arithmetic ..... 829.18
— — Key to Rudimentary treatise on arithmetic .. 829.19
WEATHERCOCK, The. Allingham, J. T. ..... 1376.5
WEBB, C. Belphegor ..... 1379.4
WEBSTER, B. The dead heart. 1379.4
— Giralda .....1369.14; 1381.1
— The golden farmer. 1376.1; 1378.5
Highways and by-ways. 1376.18; 1378.11
— The laughing hyena .... 1377.6
1379.8, 14; 1380.3
— My young wife, and my old umbrella ..... 1377.8
1378.22; 1379.10; 1388.38
— One touch of nature .....1377.17
— The Swiss swains ..... 1377.4
1378.4; 1379.19
WEBSTER, J. The dutchesse of Malfy .....v. 3 of 331.2
— The white devil .....v. 3 of 331.2
WEDDING day. Inchbald, E. v. 1 of 354.2; 1368.11
WEDDING gown. Jerrold, D. v. 8 of 906.1
WEHNER, J. H. Principles form character ..... 1377.3
WELL-DIGGING. Swindell, J. G. ..... 819.22
WELLESLEY, A., *duke of Wellington*. Life, military and civil ..... 825.4
— Memoir .....409.30; 1655.14
— Victories of. *See* Maxwell, W. H. ..... 825.3
WELLINGTON, *Duke of*. *See* Wellesley, A.
WELLS, A. M. Poems and juvenile sketches ..... 338.24
WELLS, D. A. Things not generally known ..... 896.10
WEMYSS, F. C. Minor drama. *See* Dramas, Collection of.
WENLOCK of Wenlock. Wilks, T. E. ...1368.8; 1388.39
the, J. W. von ....833.13; 847.1
WESLEY, J. Compendium of natural philosophy. 3 v. ..... 399.11
WEST, Selections from the poetical literature of the. Gallagher, W. D. 338.1
WEST country of England, Tales of the ..... 815.2
WEST end. Boucicault, D. (L.) .....1369.8; 1379.7
WEST Indian. Cumberland, R. .....v. 4 of 331.1
v. 18 of 354.1; v. 6 of 1389.1
WEST INDIES. Coleridge, H. N. Six months in the .. 379.8
— Lewis, M. G. Residence in the ..... 889.30
— Long, G. Geography of the ..... 365.3
WEST Indies. Montgomery, J. .....311.5; v. 1 of 1317.12
WESTERN home. Sigourney, L. H. ..... 338.17
WESTERN windows. Piatt, J. J. .....1327.27
WESTON, J. M. Lucretia Borgia. *See* Hugo, V. (M.) .1369.10; 1378.15; 1380.1, 2
WESTPHALIA, Secret tribunals of ..... 849.5
WESTWOOD, J. O. Natural history of insects. *See* Rennie, J. ..... 389.18; 810.9
WEY, Rambles by the river. Thorne, J. .....v. 4 of 850.18
WHALE fishery, Uncle Philip's conversations about. Hawks, F. L. .....1859.19
WHAT the woods talk about. Putlitz, G. zu ..... 878.5
WHATELY, R. Elements of rhetoric ..... 406.21
— Historic doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte ..... 868.15
— Miscellaneous lectures and reviews ..... 882.5
WHEATLY, C. Illustration of the book of common prayer ..... 838.6
WHEATON, H. Scandinavia, ancient and modern. *See* Crichton, A. ..... 820.39
WHEEL of fortune. Cumberland, R. .....v. 18 of 354.1
v. 3 of 357.15
WHEELER, J. T. Analysis and summary of Herodotus ..... 855.2
— Analysis and summary of Thucydides ..... 855.6
WHEELER, W. A. Manual of English pronunciation and spelling. *See* Soule, R., *jr.* ..... 386.6
WHIPPLE, E. P and charact
— Essays and Y. 2 v. ...
— — Same. B
— Lectures on nected wit and life ....
— The literatur of Elizabeth
WHITE, C. Ess ture and eth
WHITE, G. Nat of Selborne
— — Same. N.
— — Same. An ralist's cale
WHITE, H. K. works .....
— Poetical wo 1840 .....
— — Same. Lo
— — Same. Bos
— Life and rem 1825 .....
— — Same. Lo
— Memoir and mains; also hours .....
WHITE, J. Feu
— The king of t
WHITE, R. G. hymns. H written and not written .
WHITE devil.
WHITE doe of Wordsworth v. 4 of 35
WHITE horse of Lover, S. ...
WHITE lies. Re
WHITEHEAD, W. man father ..
— School for lo
WHITING, H. S
WHITMAN, S. H. and his critic
WHITMAN, W. man's drum-t
WHITMARSH, C. S. mothers and
— — Same. 2d s
— Hymns of the
— — Same. 2d s
— and Guild, A. of the ages.
WHITNEY, Adeli Footsteps on
WHITNEY, Anne.

..... 819.40
ans of the
t..... 2107.7
(*Larry*
true Gre-
..... 1345.6
..... 325.2
The sea-
he down.
..... 882.6
of. La
e ...v. 2 of 331.1
1; v. 14 of 1389.1
Edmonds,
times of. 379.18
Life of. 810.71
tish army
Gleig, G.
..... 889.19
iberty re-
more, T. 358.15
tophanes.
v. 1 of 834.13
ney, R...311.3,13
v. 2 of 1318.7
Denison,
..... 829.4
plied to
. Glynn,
..... 829.14
of. v. 2 of 830.42
f. Scott,
36.1; v. 5 of 336.2
13; v. 4 of 359.13
1; v. 8 of 1318.3
pilgrim-
ey, R...311.3, 13
v. 10 of 1318.7
Dibdin,
....v. 7 of 354.2
necdotes
..... 1829.5
ales and
es and in-
..... 897.10
Beautiful
r poems. 1345.9
yricæ and
..... 1319.5
gebraical
..... 365.17
, *Sir* W.
v. 2 of 902.1
. Letters
hus, J. L. 868.16
l. Con-
....v. 3 of 331.1
d. Mor-
...v. 25 of 354.1
Murphy,
1; v. 15 of 354.1
5; v. 5 of 1389.1
ollections
ngland.. 899.22
Colman,
....v. 7 of 354.2

surveying, etc. ..... 819.26
— Series of rudimentary works for beginners. 83 v. *Namely:* —
— - Allen, C. B. Cottage building ..... 819.29
— - Andrews, G. H. Agricultural engineering.... 829.2
— - Armstrong, R. Steam boilers ..... 819.41
— - Baker, T. Elements of mechanism ..... 829.29
— - - Mensuration ..... 829.25
— - - Statics and dynamics. 829.28
— - Bland, W. Form of ships and boats..... 829.16
— - Burgoyne, *Sir* J. Blasting and quarrying stone. 819.25
— - Burnell, G. R. Limes, cements, etc. ..... 819.32
— - Cox, H. Integral calculus..... 829.32
— - Dempsey, G. D. Drainage of districts and lands..... 819.20
— - - Drainage of towns and buildings..... 819.21
— - - Tubular and other iron girder bridges..... 819.30
— - Denison, E. B. Clock and watch making ..... 829.4
— - Dobson, E. Art of building..... 819.15
— - - Foundations and concrete works..... 819.31
— - - Manufacture of bricks and tiles..... 819.16
— - - Masonry and stone-cutting..... 819.18
— - Donaldson, J. Clay lands and loamy soils.. 829.3
— - Euclides. Elements of Euclid, with essay on logic, by H. Law..... 829.40
— - Field, G. Rudiments of the painters' art ..... 819.19
— - Fownes, G. Rudimentary chemistry..... 819.1
— - Fromberg, E. O. Painting on glass..... 819.28
— - Garbett, E. L. Principles of design in architecture..... 819.13
— - Gessert, M. A. Art of painting on glass..... 819.27
— - Gibbons, D. Law of contracts for services.. 819.36
— - Glynn, J. Power of water to drive mills, etc... 829.14
— - Greenwood, J. The sailor's sea-book..... 819.39
— - Haddon, J. Differential calculus ..... 829.34
— - - Elements of algebra.. 829.21
— - Halleur, G. C. H. Art of photography..... 829.11

tions..... 829.22
— - - Examples on the integral calculus..... 829.33
— - - Plane trigonometry.. 829.23
— - - Spherical trigonometry..... 829.24
— - Harris, *Sir* W. S. Rudimentary electricity..... 819.7
— - - Rudimentary magnetism ..... 819.8
— - Heather, J. F. Descriptive geometry ..... 829.8
— - - Mathematical instruments..... 819.23
— - Highton, E. The electric telegraph..... 819.9
— - Hipsley, W. Equational arithmetic, applied to interest, annuities, etc.. 829.20
— - Hughes, S. Gas-works. 829.15
— - Jeans, H. W. Navigation and nautical astronomy..... 829.30
— - Kipping, R. Masting, mast-making and rigging of ships..... 819.38
— - Kirkman, T. P. First mnemonical lessons in geometry, algebra, and trigonometry ..... 829.35
— - Lardner, D. Treatise on the steam engine.... 819.24
— - Law, H. Art of constructing roads, etc.... 819.33
— - - Treatise on logarithms. 829.26
— - and Burnell, G. R. Rudiments of civil and hydraulic engineering.. 819.11
— - Leeds, W. H. Rudimentary architecture... 819.12
— - Main, R. Rudimentary astronomy..... 829.27
— - Murray, R. Marine engines and steam vessels. 829.12
— - Peake, J. Rudiments of naval architecture... 819.37
— - Portlock, J. E. Rudimentary treatise on geology ..... 819.4
— - Prideaux, T. S. Economy of fuel ..... 829.9
— - Pyne, G. Perspective for beginners..... 819.14
— - Raspail, F. V. Domestic medicine ..... 829.37
— - Rudimentary chronology ..... 829.39
— - Sewell, J. Steam and locomotion ..... 829.10
— - Spencer, C. C. Art of playing the pianoforte. 829.6
— - - Treatise on music.... 829.5
— - Stephenson, R. M. Railways ..... 829.1
— - Stevenson, A. Treatise on lighthouses..... 819.34

C. F..... 358.4
VIGIL of Venus. Catullus, C. V..... 844.2
VINET, A. French literature in the 18th century .... 394.3
VIOLA. Maturin, E..1369.4; 1388.12
VIRGILIUS MARO, P. Works. 814.10

*Contents.*—Bucolics; Georgics; Æneid.

— The eclogues, georgics, and Æneid. 2 v..... 830.13
— Pastorals. *See* Beattie, J. .....319.2; 1316.2
— Translations from. *See* Cowper, W.....v. 3 of 319.7 346.15; v. 5 of 817.11 v. 3 of 1316.10
VIRGIN-MARTYR, The. Massinger, P. ..... 353.4 v. 1 of 353.8; v. 1 of 357.14
VIRGINIA, Uncle Philip's conversations about. Hawks, F. L.....1859.15
VIRGINIUS. Knowles, J. S. v. 1 of 1357.1; 1367.4
VISION of Barbarossa. Stigant, W. ..... 374.14
VISION of Columbus. Barlow, J. ..... 314.1
VISION of Don Roderick. Scott, *Sir* W.....331.3; 336.1 v. 3 of 336.2; v. 2 of 336.13 336.14; v. 2 of 359.13 v. 1 of 902.1; v. 4 of 1318.3 v. 2 of 1329.2
VISION of judgment. Byron, G. (G. N.), *lord*...v. 5 of 323.2 v. 6 of 347.1; v. 3 of 1409.2
VISION of judgment. Southey, R.....311.3, 13; v. 10 of 1318.7
VISION of poets. Browning, E. B.....v. 2 of 335.10 v. 2 of 335.11; v. 1 of 1326.3
VISION of Sir Launfal. Lowell, J. R. ..... 346.17
VISION of the Maid of Orleans. Southey, R. 311.3, 13; v. 1 of 1318.7
VISITS to remarkable places. Howitt, W..... 896.3
VITA nuova. Dante Alighieri .....355.2; 855.10
VOICE, Philosophy of the human. Rush, J..... 405.1
VOICES from the crowd. Mackay, C. .....1327.22
VOICES from the mountains and from the crowd. Mackay, C. .....1326.12
VOICES of freedom. Whittier, J. G..332.8; v. 1 of 1328.29
VOICES of nature. Bryant, W. C. ..... 1329.9
VOICES of the border. Patten, G. W..... 1348.6
— Mahomet, translated by J. Miller.....v. 2 of 331.1 v. 13 of 354.1
— Zara, translated by A. Hill.....v. 2 of 331.1 v. 7 of 354.1; v. 11 of 1389.1
VOLUSPA. Pfeiffer, I..... 879.3
VOTARY, The. Hewett, J. D. ..... 1328.8
VOYAGES round the world. De Foe, D. New voyage round the world..v. 6 of 833.9
— Kippis, A. Voyages by Capt. Cook ..... 820.66
— – Voyages since the death of Capt. Cook..... 820.73
— Pfeiffer, I. Lady's voyage round the world.409.23; 1655.13
VULGAR errors. Browne, *Sir* T.....v. 1, 2 of 846.11
— Exposition of .....v. 2 of 850.25
VULGARISMS. Bache, R. M. 1398.2

WADDINGTON, G. History of the church to the reformation. 2 v..... 365.13
WADDINGTON, W. H. The protestant church and religious liberty in France ..... 873.13
WAGNER, F., and Bodenstedt, F. Schamyl .... 409.28 1655.14
WAIF, The. Longfellow, H. W..... 333.14
WAINWRIGHT, J. H. Ephemera. *See* Rice, G. E.... 1327.5
WALCOT, C. M. "A good fellow".....1376.12
— Hiawatha .....1376.14; 1388.15
— Nothing to nurse.....1376.17 1378.9; 1388.23
— One coat for two suits...1376.15 1379.12; 1388.16
WALDAUER, A. Little barefoot.....1369.20
— Fanchon, the cricket. *See* Dudevant, A. L. A. D. .1369.20
WALDEN. Thoreau, H. D... 884.13
WALDENSES. Baines, E. Visit to the Vaudois of Piedmont..... 1655.7
— Muston, A. Persecutions of the ..... 879.13
WALES, A. L. Reminiscences of the Boston female asylum..... 1848.2
WALES, and other poems. James, M..... 358.1
WALKER, C. E. The warlock of the glen.....1369.15 1379.3; 1388.38
WALKER, C. V. Electricity, magnetism, and meteorology. *See* Lardner, D. v. 2 of 398.14

and trades..... 820.50
— Wiggins, J. Embanking lands from the sea..... 829.13

*See also* Agriculture, Chemistry, Clock and watch making, Domestic economy, Enamelling, Engineering, Food, Gas works, Glass, Locks, Manufactures, Photography, Porcelain, Pottery, Silk, Vegetable substances, Ventilation, Water power, Well-digging.

UTOPIA. More, *Sir* T..... 888.14

VAGABOND, The. Badeau, A. 903.8
VAGABONDS, The. Trowbridge, J. T.....1348.21
VAGARIES of Vandyke Browne. Brannan, W. P..... 1329.5
VALENTINE, W. Budget of wit and humour..... 1886.6
VALENTINIAN. Beaumont, F.....v. 5 of 351.2
VALET de sham. Selby, C. 1377.14 1378.21; 1388.2; 1388.24, 29
VANBRUGH, *Sir* J. Plays. 2 v..... 356.19

*Contents.*—Vol. I. Account of the life and writings of the author; The relapse; The provok'd wife; Æsop; The false friend. II. The confederacy; The mistake; The country house; A journey to London; The provok'd husband.

— The confederacy.....v. 3 of 331 v. 6 of 1389.1

*Note.*—Called also The city wives' confederacy.

— The mistake .....v. 3 of 331.1
— The provoked wife.v. 3 of 331.1 v. 9 of 354.1
— and Cibber, C. The provoked husband....v. 3 of 331.1 v. 9 of 354.1; v. 3 of 1389.1
VANDEN HEUVEL, *Mrs.* —. Mythological fables.... 345.8
VANDENHOFF, G. Common sense ..... 375.13
— The lady's reader..... 393.8
VANDYKE Browne, Vagaries of. Brannan, W. P. ... 1329.5
VARLEY, D. Rudimentary treatise on mineralogy. 819.5
VARNHAGEN VON ENSE, C. A. Extracts from his diaries, and letters to Humboldt. *See* Humboldt, (F. H.) A. von..... 893.4
VASARI, G. Lives of eminent painters, sculptors, and architects. 5 v. ... 848.6
VAUGHAN, H. Sacred poems and private ejaculations. 1319.4
VAUGHAN, R. History of England, 1603–88 ..... 365.16
food of man..... 820.65 840.32; 849.8; 859.3
— Vegetable substances used in the arts ..... 859.1
VELASQUEZ, D. R. de Silva y. Valasqvez and his works. *See* Stirling, W..... 899.20
VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, C. Works. *See* Sallustius Crispus, C..... 834.4
VENETIAN history, Sketches from. Smedley, E. 399.4; 810.49
VENICE preserved. Otway, T.....v. 1 of 331.1 v. 2 of 353.10; v. 12 of 354.1 1367.3; v. 11 of 1389.1
VENTILATION of houses, etc. Tomlinson, C. ..... 819.40
VENUS, Vigil of. *See* Catullus, C. V. ..... 844.2
VENUS and Adonis. Shakespeare, W...313.2; v. 7 of 322.4 v. 8 of 326.2; 329.9; v. 7 of 394.7 1318.4; v. 1 of 1394.1
VEREY, J. The open air or sketches out of town... 1827.3
VÉRICOUR, (L.) R. de. Modern French literature... 404.12
VERMONT wool-dealer..... 1377.3
VERPLANCK, G. C. Science and literature. *See* Brougham, H., *lord* .... 820.72
VERSES on various occasions. Newman, J. H..1348.20
VERSIFICATION. Everett, E. System of English..... 406.4
— Walker, W. S. Shakespeare's ..... 326.3
VERY woman, A. Massinger, P. ..... 353.4 v. 4 of 353.8; v. 3 of 357.14
VESPERS of Palermo. Hemans, F. (D.).....v. 1 of 324.2 v. 2 of 347.2; v. 1 of 347.5
VETERAN, The. Wallack, J. L. .....1369.6; 1378.3
VICAR of Wakefield. Goldsmith, O. ..... 833.13 892.9; v. 3 of 906.3; 1409.12
— – Same. Dramatized. *See* Coyne, J. S..... 1368.2 1378.17; 1388.4
VICTIMS. Taylor, T..1369.2; 1388.34
VICTOR vanquished. Dance, C. ....1377.6; 1378.18; 1388.28
VICTORIES of love. Patmore, C. (K.)..... 373.10
VICTORINE. Buckstone, J. B.....1369.5; 1388.7
VIENNA, Sieges of, by the Turks. Schimmer, K. A. ..... 889.16
VIEUSSEUX, A. History of Switzerland ..... 365.9
— Napoleon Bonaparte: his sayings and deeds. 2 v. 850.20

ous chronicle. *See* Commines, P. de ..... 857.4
TRUCULENTUS. Plautus, T. M. .....v. 2 of 824.12
TRUE-BORN Englishman, The. De Foe, D...v. 5 of 833.9
TRUE Grecian bend. Warner, L. T..... 1345.6
TRUE glory of woman. Harbaugh, H. ..... 896.8
TRUEBA Y COSIO, T. de. Conquest of Peru..... 830.62
— Life of Hernan Cortes ... 830.55
TRUMBULL, J. Poetical works. 2 v..... 314.9

*Contents.* — Vol. I. Memoir; M'Fingal. II. Progress of dulness; Miscellaneous.

— M'Fingal ..... 1347.1
TRUMPETER'S, The, daughter. Coyne, J. S.....1377.16 1378.9; 1379.13; 1388.22
TRUTH. Abercrombie, J. Investigation of..... 810.46
— Bailey, S. Pursuit of.... 878.14
TRYING it on. Brough, W. 1377.8 1378.9, 22; 1379.10; 1388.38
TRYING moments. Kennedy, S. M..... 1375.3
TSCHUDI, J. J. von. Sketches of nature in the Alps.... 1655.1
TU quoque, Green's. *See* Cook, J. .....v. 2 of 331.2
TUBULAR bridges. Dempsey, G. D. ..... 819.30
TUCKER, M. E. Loew's bridge .....1327.23
TUCKERMAN, F. G. Poems. 364.9
TUCKERMAN, H. T. Poems. 325.12
— The criterion ..... 823.15
— The optimist..... 898.9
TUKE, *Sir* S. Adventures of five hours .....v. 3 of 331.2
TUMULTS, Sketches of popular ..... 850.14
TUPPER, M. F. Complete works. 4 v..... 887.3

*Contents.* — Vol. I. The crock of gold; The twins; Heart. II. An author's mind; Essays; Probabilities. III. Ballads for the times; A thousand lines; Hactenus; Geraldine; Early poems; Contrasted sonnets; American ballads; Miscellaneous poems. IV. Proverbial philosophy; Modern pyramid of sonnets; Poems of King Alfred.

— Proverbial philosophy...1349.10
TURENNE, H. de La Tour. d' Auvergne, *vicomte* de, Life of. *See* Cockayne, T. O.....409.30; 1655.14
TURKEY. MacCulloch, J. R. Description of ..409.28; 1655.6
TURNED head. A Beckett, G. A. .....1377.9; 1379.27
TURNER, C. White lies. From C. Reade's novel..1378.16
TURNER, D. W. Notes on Herodotus..... 855.3
TURNER, J. W. Minstrel's gift ..... 338.19
TURNER, S. Sacred history of the world. 3 v..... 810.43
TURNPIKE gate. Knight, T. v. 3 of 354.2
TUSCULAN disputations. Cicero, M. T. ..... 834.7
TUSSER, T. Five hundred pounds of good husbandry ..... 312.11
TWELFTH night. Shakespeare, W. .v. 1 of 313.1; 322.3 v. 2 of 322.4; v. 1 of 325.1 v. 4 of 326.1; v. 3 of 326.2 v. 3 of 337.2; v. 5 of 354.1 v. 1 of 359.18; v. 2 of 394.7 v. 3 of 1326.1; 1367.8 1388.6; v. 5 of 1394.1
TWENTY minutes with a tiger ..... 1378.9 1379.9; 1388.22, 33, 43
TWENTY years in the Philippines. La Gironière, P. P. de .....409.21; 1655.8
TWENTY years professional life. Hunt, H. K..... 886.3
TWICE told tale. Wooler, J. P. ....1377.15; 1378.21; 1384.3
TWILIGHT dream. Freeman, N. C. ..... 385.14
TWILIGHT hours. Brackett, E. A..... 348.19
TWINS, The. Bremer, F.... 817.1
TWINS, The. Tupper, M. F. v. 1 of 887.3
Two b'hoys, The. Dance, C.1377.17
Two Bonnycastles, The. Morton, J. M...1376.6; 1388.13
Two Buzzards, The. Morton, J. M..... 1377.5 1379.13; 1388.7
Two can play at that game. Pierron, E.....1377.10 1378.18; 1384.1
Two drovers, The. Scott, *Sir* W. .....v. 6 of 902.1
Two Foscari, The. Byron, G. (G. N.), *lord* ...v. 4 of 323.2 v. 7 of 347.1; v. 5 of 1409.2
Two friends, The. Lacy, R. 1368.3; 1378.5; 1388.5
Two gentlemen of Verona. Shakespeare, W....v. 1 of 313.1 322.3; v. 1 of 322.4 v. 1 of 325.1; v. 1 of 326.1 v. 1 of 326.2; v. 1 of 337.2 v. 1 of 359.18; v. 7 of 394.7 v. 1 of 1326.1; 1367.4 v. 2 of 1394.1

409.2; 1655.6
pits..... 409.22
1655.23
. Life of
ne ..... 409.30
1655.14
nines and
.....1655.23
arquis de.
....409.4; 1655.5
Memoirs
rmes.... 409.5
Present
co .....1655.10
Swiss men
...409.26; 1655.1
Norway in
..... 1655.4
. De Foe
ll.....1655.16
Leipsic
...409.7; 1655.14
Corsica. 1655.2
ord Ches-
Selwyn..1655.17
lemoirs..1655.17
tany and
....409.9; 1655.7
he chase.
409.9; 1655.7
F., *earl of*
ures and
d of pop-
..409.3; 1655.25
Journey
ry, Thi-
1844–46.
409.10; 1655.8
The Aus-
. 409.11; 1655.13
Pictures
.....1655.11
J. The
da, and
on..... 1655.9
) Sketch-
..... 409.12
. Jona-
..409.3; 1655.16
rdson.... 409.3
Pictures
tersburg.
409.13; 1655.6
dications
..409.2; 1655.24
y of crea-
.409.31; 1655.24
Eothen.
409.6; 1655.8
. P. de.
in the
..409.21; 1655.8
e, Prus-
d, Italy,
s of Eu-
.409.14; 1655.3

— – Gladstone on church and state .....409.20; 1655.19
— – Hallam's Constitutional history .....1655.20
— – Horace Walpole..... 409.17 1655.19
— – Life and writings of Addison .....409.17; 1655.19
— – Lord Bacon ...409.17; 1655.20
— – Lord Byron ...409.18; 1655.20
— – Lord Clive ....409.19; 1655.19
— – Ranke's History of the popes.....409.20; 1655.19
— – Samuel Johnson .....1655.19
— – Speeches on parliamentary reform, in 1831, 32. 409.18; 1655.20
— – Warren Hastings..... 409.19 1655.19
— – William Pitt, earl of Chatham.....409.20; 1655.19
— MacCulloch, J. R. London in 1850, 51..409.21; 1655.25
— – Russia and Turkey.... 409.28 1655.6
— Mason, G. H. Life with the Zulus of Natal ..... 1655.9
— Mayne, F. Voyages and discoveries in the Arctic regions..... 1655.7
— Miles, P. Rambles in Iceland..... 1655.4
— Mormonism .....1655.25
— Pfeiffer, I. Lady's voyage round the world. 409.23; 1655.13
— Piozzi, H. L. Anecdotes of S. Johnson .....1655.16
— Ranke, (F.) L. von. Ferdinand I and Maximilian II of Austria....409.27; 1655.15
— Rogers, H. Life and genius of T. Fuller ....1655.15
— Seaward, *Sir* E. Shipwreck, etc. ....409.24; 1655.21
— Smith, Sydney. Selections from his writings. 409.25 1655.18
— Southey, R. A love story. 409.32
— Souvestre, É. Attic philosopher in Paris .....1655.21
— – Confessions of a working man.....1655.21
— Spencer, H. Railway morals and policy.....1655.25
— Stark, A. Printing.....1655.25
— Tschudi, F. von. Nature in the Alps ..... 1655.1
— Turkey and Christendom. 409.27; 1655.15
— Wagner, F. Schamyl... 409.28 1655.14
— Wellesley, A., *duke of Wellington*. Memoir... 409.30 1655.14
— Werne, F. African wanderings .....409.29; 1655.10

TRENCH, F. Lecture on conversation..... 406.13
TRENCH, R. C. Calderon, with specimens of his plays. 898.11
— English past and present. 403.19
— Poems..... 324.17
— Story of Justin Martyr: and other poems.....1338.15
— Study of words ..... 406.6
— Synonyms of the New Testament ..... 393.16
TRIAL of the alleged assassins and conspirators at Washington, 1865..... 1830.1
TRIALS of Charles I, and of some of the regicides: with biographies of Bradshaw, Ireton, Harrison, and others ..... 399.7
TRIBUNE essays. Congdon, C. T..... 1815.7
TRIERMAIN, Bridal of. Scott, *Sir* W..... 331.3 336.1; v. 4 of 336.2
v. 1 of 336.13; v. 1 of 902.1
v. 8 of 1318.3; 1339.1
TRIFLETON papers. Tilton, W..... 823.10
TRIFOLIUM, A. Carstens, H. W..... 878.5
TRIGONOMETRY. Hann, J. Elements of plane..... 829.23
— – Elements of spherical.. 829.24
— Kirkman, T. P. First mnemonical lessons in. 829.35
TRIMMER, S. Miscellaneous pieces from the Family magazine ..... 888.16
TRINUMMUS. Plautus, T. M.....v. 1 of 824.12
TRIP to Scarborough. Sheridan, R. B...828.10; 847.2; 1357.2
TRIPLET, J. Call at number 1–7.....1377.17
— A supper in Dixie.....1377.18
TRISTIA. Ovidius Naso, P. 824.6
TRISTRAM Shandy, Life and opinions of. Sterne, L. v. 1, 2 of 908.10
TRIUMPH of woman. Southey, R. 311.3, 13; v. 2 of 1318.7
TRIVIA. Gay, J. .....v. 1 of 312.1
v. 1 of 1317.1
TROADES. Euripides..v. 2 of 814.9
TROILUS and Creseide. Chaucer, G. .....v. 4, 5 of 319.5
v. 2 of 355.4
TROILUS and Cressida. Shakespeare, W...v. 5 of 313.1
322.3; v. 6 of 322.4
v. 7 of 325.1; v. 9 of 326.1
v. 6 of 326.2; v. 7 of 337.2
v. 3 of 359.18; v. 4 of 394.7
v. 8 of 1326.1; v. 9 of 1394.1
TROJAN dames. Euripides. v. 2 of 830.15

THOUGHTS and things at home and abroad. Burritt, E. ..... 898.3
THOUGHTS, feelings, and fancies. Bovee, C. N. .... 877.2
THREE courses and a dessert. 815.2
THREE crowns. Bradlee, L. H. .....1347.18
THREE cutters, The. Maryat, F. ..... 854.12
THREE eras of New England. Lunt, G. ..... 888.7
THREE guardsmen, The. Rice, C. ..... 1368.9
THREE wakings. Charles, E. 1328.1
THREE weeks after marriage. Murphy, A. .....v. 5 of 331.1
v. 4 of 354.2; 1367.8; 1388.6
THUCYDIDES. Peloponnesian war. Translated by H. Dale. 2 v. in 1 ..... 814.2
— – Same. Translated by W. Smith. 2 v..... 830.18
— Analysis and summary of. *See* Wheeler, J. T. ..... 855.6
THUMPING legacy. Morton, J. M. .....1376.13; 1388.20
THUNDER and lightning. Fonvielle, W. de ..... 148.15
THYNN, F. Debate between pride and lowliness .... 342.4
TIA fingida, or the pretended aunt. Cervantes Saavedra, M. de ..... 857.3
TIBULLUS, A. Poems. *See* Catullus, C. V. ..... 844.2
TICKELL, T. Poetical works.1317.14
TICKET-OF-LEAVE man. Taylor, T. .....1369.20
TICKLISH times. Morton, J. M. .....1377.13; 1379.9; 1388.43
TICKNOR, C. Philosophy of living ..... 810.72
TICKNOR, G. History of Spanish literature. N. Y. 3 v..... 402.1
— – Same. Bost. 3 v..... 393.13
TIERS état, Formation and progress of the. Thierry, (J. N.) A. ..... 857.12
TILES, Manufacture of. Dobson, E. ..... 819.16
TILTON, T. Sanctum sanctorum.....1816.21
— The sexton's tale, and other poems .....1329.22
TILTON, W., and Crafts, W. A. Trifleton papers ... 823.10
TIMÆUS, The. Plato..v. 2 of 814.3
TIMÆUS Locrus. Plato.v. 6 of 814.3
TIMBER trees.....849.7; 859.1
TIME tries all. Courtney, J. 1369.14; 1379.26; 1381.3
TIME works wonders. Jerrold, D. .....v. 7 of 906.1
TIMON ..... 342.10
TIN-TRUMPET, The. Chatfield, P. .....903.10; 1907.3
TIROCINIUM. Cowper, W. v. 1 of 312.1; v. 2 of 319.7
v. 9 of 337.1; 346.15
v. 2 of 358.22; v. 2 of 358.23
v. 6 of 817.11; v. 2 of 1316.10
'TIS pity she's a whore. Forde, J. .....v. 1 of 353.9
TITANIA'S banquet. Hill, G. 1344.3
TITCOMB, Timothy, *pseud.* *See* Holland, J. G.
TITUS and Berenice. Otway, T. .....v. 1 of 353.10
TITUS Andronicus. Shakespeare, W...v. 6 of 313.1; 322.3
v. 6 of 322.4; v. 9 of 325.1
v. 8 of 326.1; v. 6 of 326.2
v. 6 of 337.2; v. 4 of 359.18
v. 4 of 394.7; v. 9 of 1326.1
v. 9 of 1394.1
TIVOLI, A day at. Kenyon, J. ..... 346.2
To marry, or not to marry. Inchbald, E. .....v. 23 of 354.1
v. 2 of 357.15
To oblige Benson. Taylor, T .....1376.11; 1388.20
To parents and guardians .. 1368.7
1388.36
To Paris and back, for five pounds. Morton, J. M..1376.10
TOBIN, J. The honey-moon. v. 25 of 354.1; 1367.1
— The school for authors. v. 7 of 354.2
TODD, H. J. Illustrations of the lives and writings of Gower and Chaucer.... 312.10
TODD, S. H. Occasional poems ..... 338.25
TOKEN, The. Goodrich, S. G. ..... 899.24
TOKEN of friendship..... 1828.2
TOM and Jerry. Moncrieff, W. T. .....1377.1; 1388.16
TOM Cringle. Fitzball, E... 1368.9
1378.5
TOM Noddy's secret. Bayley, T. H. .....1377.16
1378.6, 21; 1388.33
TOM Thumb. Fielding, H. v. 5 of 331.1; v. 6 of 354.2
TOMKIS, —. Albumazar.v. 2 of 331.2
TOMLINSON, C. Construction of locks ..... 829.17
— Pneumatics ..... 819.10
— Rudimentary mechanics. 819.6
— Study of natural philosophy ..... 819.2
— Warming and ventilation. 819.40
TONGA islands, Natives and language of the. Martin, J. ..... 830.33
Too much for good nature. Falconer, E. .....1378.22

tory of the American... 353.5
— Inchbald, E. British ... 354.1 357.15
Thebais, book 1. Statius, P. P..v. 1 of 335.1; v. 1 of 339.3 v. 1 of 835.16; v. 1 of 1318.1
Thebes, Seven against. Æschylus.....359.6; 814.6
Theocritus, Translations from. *See* Dryden, J. v. 3 of 319.8 v. 2 of 369.3; v. 3 of 1316.12
Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. Idylls, and the War-songs of Tyrtæus ..... 834.6
Theodore; or, the gamester's progress..... 369.6
Theodoretus and Evagrius. History of the church, A. D. 322 – 427 and 431–594..... 845.5
Theodosius. Lee, N...v. 1 of 331.1
Theodosius and Constantia. Langhorne, J. ..... 833.13
Theodric. Campbell, T. v. 3 of 312.1 324.9; 346.13, 14; 1316.14
Theognis. Works. *See* Hesiodus ..... 854.2
Theology. Butler, J. Analogy of religion ..... 858.6
— Chalmers, T. Adaptation of external nature to man..... 826.6
— De Quincey, T. Theological essays..... 905.2
— Farley, S. Discourses on theological topics... 875.3
— Kidd, J. Adaptation of external nature to man. 826.3
— Paley, W. Natural theology.....820.4; 840.49
— Prout, W. Chemistry, meteorology, and digestion, with reference to natural theology..... 826.16
— Taylor, J. Holy living and dying..... 848.7
— Turner, S. Sacred history of the world..... 810.43
— Wheatly, C. Illustrations of the book of common prayer ..... 838.6
— Whewell, W. Astronomy and general physics with reference to natural theology ..... 826.4
Theremin, F. Eloquence a virtue; or outlines of a systematic rhetoric.... 405.7
Therese, the orphan of Geneva. Payne, J. H. 1368.5; 1378.1
Thermometer, The. Traill, T. S. .....v. 2 of 365.14
— Formation and progress of the tiers état. 2 v. in 1 ..... 857.12
Thierry and Theodoret. Beaumont, F.....v. 1 of 331.1 v. 1 of 351.2
Things not generally known. Wells, D. A. ..... 896.10
Thirlwall, C. History of Greece. 8 v..... 368.11
Thirty poems. Bryant, W. C..... 372.3
Thirty years' war. Schiller, (J. C.) F. von..v. 1, 2 of 830.36 854.14
Thomas à Becket. Hollister, G. H. .....1347.19
Thomas the rhymer. Scott, *Sir* W.....336.1; v. 2 of 359.13
Thompson, D'A. W. Nursery nonsense..... 1339.8
— Wayside thoughts of an asophophilosopher ..... 1829.2
Thomson, J. Poetical works. Lond. 2 v..... 329.13
*Contents.* — Vol. I. Memoir, by Sir H. Nicolas; Poems; Songs; Britannia; Liberty. II. The seasons; Castle of indolence.
— – Same. Bost. 2 v..... 1319.3
*Contents.*—Same as preceding.
— – Same. Leip.....1409.11
*Contents.* — The seasons; Poems; Songs; Britannia; Liberty.
— Castle of indolence..v. 1 of 312.1 v. 2 of 369.12
— The seasons. N. Y..... 349.26
— – Same. Lond..... 358.13
— – Same. Phil.....v. 1 of 312.1
— Tancred and Sigismunda. v. 2 of 331.1 v. 13 of 354.1; v. 14 of 1389.1
Thomson, M. (*Q. K. Philander Doesticks.*) The lady of the lake..... 1377.3
— Nothing to say ..... 344.26
Thomson, R. Illustrations of the history of Great Britain. 2 v..... 830.37
Thoreau, H. D. Cape Cod. 813.19
— Excursions ..... 882.15
— Letters to various persons ..... 823 5
— Walden ..... 884.13
Thornbury, G. W. Songs of the cavaliers and roundheads, Jacobite ballads, etc. ..... 316.3
Thorndale. Smith, W. ... 894.11
Thorne, J. Rambles by rivers. 4 v..... 850.18
Thornton, B. Connoisseur. v. 30-32 of 850.24

H. Roland Yorke ..... 710.69
— – 1052, 1053. Bulwer-Lytton, (E.) R. Poems. 1338.17
— – 1054, 1055. Church, F., *formerly Miss Marryat.* Véronique ..... 710.72
— – 1056, 1057. Horatius Flaccus, Q. Odes and epodes ..... 1338.18
— – 1058, 1059. Ainsworth, W. H. Hilary St. Ives. 710.73
— – 1060, 1061. Craik, D. (M.) M. The unkind word and other stories. 710.28
— – 1062. Melville, G. J. W. M. or N. ..... 710.24
— – 1063, 1064. Edwards, A. B. Debenham's vow. 710.27
— – 1065. Tennyson, A. The holy grail ..... 1348.27
— – 1066, 1067. Trollope, T. A. The Garstangs of Garstang grange .... 710.1
— – 1068, 1069. Smollett, T. Adventures of Peregrine Pickle ..... 430.54
— – 1070. Thackeray, W. M. Catherine ..... 710.6
— – 1071, 1072. Cudlip, A., *formerly Miss Thomas.* Only herself ..... 710.4
— – 1073, 1074. Red as a rose is she ..... 490.73
— – 1075, 1076. Parr, H. For richer, for poorer .. 710.3
— – 1077, 1078. Craik, D. (M.) M. A brave lady. 710.23
— – 1080, 1081. Estelle Russell ..... 710.11
— – 1082, 1083. Fullerton, *Lady* G. Mrs. Gerald's niece ..... 710.10
— – 1084, 1085. Wood, *Mrs.* H. George Canterbury's will ..... 710.9
— – 1086. Oliphant, M. (O. W.) The rector and the doctor's family ..... 710.8
— – 1087, 1088. Yonge, C. M. The caged lion .... 710.12
— – 1089, 1090. Stanhope. P. H., *earl.* History of England ..... 1966.7
— – 1091, 1092. Oliphant, M. (O.W). Salem chapel. 710.13
— – 1093. Gwendoline's harvest ..... 710.14
— – 1094, 1095. Disraeli, B. Lothair ..... 710.15
— – 1096, 1097. Trollope, A. The vicar of Bullhampton ..... 710.16

*Note.* — Works of fiction given in the above list will be found entered in the Class list of fiction under their authors' names and under their titles.

F. (H. C.), *baron* de. Undine and other tales .. 1711.6
— – 7. Heyse, P. (J. L.) L'Arrabiata and other tales .. 1711.7
— – 8. Zschokke, (J.) H. (D.) The princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and other tales ..... 1711.8
— – 9. Lessing, G. E. Nathan the Wise. Emilia Galotti ..... 1357.12
— – 10. Hacklaender, F. W. Behind the counter. 730.75
— – 11. Hauff, W. Three tales ..... 490.65
— – 12. Nathusius, M. Joachim v. Kamern; Diary of a poor young lady .... 720.70
— – 13. Freiligrath, F. Poems ..... 1338.23
— – 14. Gabriel, a story of the Jews in Prague ..... 710.41
— – 15. Heyse, P. (J. L.) The dead lake and other tales ..... 1711.11
— – 16. Gutzkow, K. Through night to light. 1711.12

*Note.* — Works of fiction given in the above list will be found entered in the Class list of fiction under their authors' names and under their titles.

Taxidermy. Swainson, W. 408.5
Tayleure, C. W. The boy martyrs of Sept. 12, 1814. 1369.10; 1379.22; 1380.1
— Horseshoe Robinson .... 1369.5
Taylor, H. Edwin the fair; Isaac Comnenus; Eve of the conquest, and other poems ..... 355.7
— Notes from books ..... 403.4
— Notes from life ..... 898.21
— Philip van Artevelde. 2 v. in 1 ..... 346.16
— St. Clement's eve ..... 364.6
Taylor, I. Transmission of ancient books to modern times ..... 395.4
— Ultimate civilization and other essays ..... 395.19
Taylor, (James) Bayard. The ballad of Abraham Lincoln ..... 1320.1
— Book of romances, lyrics, and songs ..... 345.20
— Picture of St. John ..... 1346.6
— Poems ..... 1339.7
— Poems of home and travel. 1395.3
— Poems of the Orient ..... 345.21
— The poet's journal ..... 373.11
— Rhymes of travel, ballads and poems ..... 345.19
— Hand-book of literature and the fine arts. *See* Ripley, G. ..... 406.22

— – 935, 936. Not wisely, but too well ..... 490.50
— – 937, 938. MacCarthy, J. Waterdale neighbours .. 490.16
— – 939, 940. Charles, E. The Draytons and the Davenants ..... 490.15
— – 941, 942. Kavanagh, J. Dora ..... 490.55
— – 943. Craik, G. M. Winifred's wooing, and other tales ..... 490.57
— – 944, 945. Lemon, M. Golden fetters ..... 490.56
— – 946, 947. Ainsworth, W. H. Myddleton Pomfret ..... 490.17
— – 948, 949. Bulwer, *Sir* H. L. (E.) Historical characters ..... 567.9
— – 950, 951. Sewell, E. M. After life ..... 490.20
— – 952–955. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) Miscellaneous prose works. 1839.3
— – 956, 957. Melville, G. J. W. The white rose. 490.21
— – 958–960. Brooks, (C.) S. Sooner or later .... 490.26
— – 961. Dickens, C. (J. H.), and Collins, (W.) W. No thoroughfare ..... 490.22
— – 962, 963. Parr, H. Basil Godfrey's caprice ..... 490.23
— – 964. Baynes, R. H. Lyra Anglicana ..... 1348.9
— – 965, 966. Wood, *Mrs.* H. The Red court farm. 490.25
— – 967. Ross, C. H. The pretty widow ..... 490.53
— – 968. All for greed .... 490.60
— – 969. Craik, D. (M.) M. Poems ..... 1338.12
— – 970, 971. Aïdé, H. The Marstons ..... 490.59
— – 972, 973. Collins, (W.) W. The moonstone ... 490.61
— – 978. Hall, A. M. Can wrong be right? ..... 490.28
— – 979. Craik, G. M. Mildred ..... 730.69
— – 980, 981. Braddon, M. E. Dead-sea fruit ..... 730.70
— – 982. Longfellow, H. W. New England tragedies. 1359.6
— – 983, 984. Craik, D. (M.) M. The woman's kingdom ..... 730.5
— – 985, 986. Dixon, W. H. Spiritual wives ..... 1129.14
— – 987, 988. Lever, C. (J.) The Bramleighs of Bishop's folly ..... 720.65
— – 989, 990. Ainsworth, W. H. The South-sea bubble ..... 490.62
Dramatic works ..... 1357.2
— – 998, 999. Wood, *Mrs.* H. Anne Hereford .... 490.64
— – 1000. Tischendorf, C. The New Testament .... 2109.27
— – 1001, 1002. Yonge, C. M. The chaplet of pearls ... 720.67
— – 1003. Marryat, F. Mr. Midshipman Easy .. 490.66
— – 1004, 1005. Church, F., *formerly Miss Marryat.* Nelly Brooke ..... 730.84
— – 1006. Lever, C. (J.) A rent in a cloud ..... 490.67
— – 1007, 1079. Dixon, W. H. Her majesty's tower. 1998.3
— – 1008. Marryat, F. The king's own ..... 490.68
— – 1009. Buried alone ... 720.68
— – 1010. Ruffini, G. The Paragreens [in] Paris .. 720.71
— – 1011, 1012. Thackeray, W. M. Roundabout papers ..... 1816.18
— – 1013. Charles, E. Winifred Bertram ..... 490.70
— – 1014, 1015. Lawrence, G. A. Breaking a butterfly ..... 720.69
— – 1016–1018. Trollope, A. Phineas Finn, the Irish member ..... 490.69
— – 1019, 1020. Stowe, H. (E.) B. Oldtown folks. 710.7
— – 1021. Newman, J. H. Callista ..... 710.59
— – 1022, 1023. Peard, F. M. One year ..... 710.58
— – 1024. Lever, C. (J.) That boy of Norcott's. 490.71
— – 1025. On the edge of the storm ..... 710.63
— – 1026. Carlyle, T. Life of F. Schiller ..... 547.22
— – 1027. Jenkin, *Mrs.* C. Within an ace ..... 710.64
— – 1028–1030. Trollope, A. He knew he was right .. 720.72
— – 1031, 1032. Oliphant, M. (O. W.) The minister's wife ..... 710.61
— – 1033. Found dead .... 490.72
— – 1034, 1035. Braddon, M. E. Run to earth ... 710.60
— – 1036, 1037. Yates, E. Wrecked in port ..... 710.62
— – 1038. Lamb, C. Essays of Elia and Eliana. 1819.23
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— – 1042, 1043. Ross, H. A London romance .... 710.65

legacy..... 750.7
— – 690, 691. Warner, S. The old helmet ..... 410.16
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— – 696, 697. Melville, G. J. W. The gladiators.. 750.9
— – 698, 699. Lemon, M. Wait for the end..... 730.59
— – 702–704. Taylor, M. Tara ..... 730.61
— – 705, 706. Yonge, C. M. The trial ..... 750.3
— – 707, 708. Wordsworth, W. Select poetical works..... 1409.6
— – 709, 710. Reade, C. The cloister and the hearth ..... 730.62
— – 711, 712. "Recommended to mercy"..... 750.16
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— – 722, 723. Braddon, M. E. Henry Dunbar..... 750.21
— – 724, 725. Ainsworth, W. H. John Law..... 750.10
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— – 730, 760, 780, 800. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Our mutual friend..... 710.48
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— – 740, 741. Kavanagh, J. Beatrice..... 750.37
— – 742. Tennyson, A. Poetical works .....1339.29
— – 743, 744. Wood, *Mrs.* H. Lord Oakburn's daughters ..... 750.18
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J. W. The Brookes of Bridlemere ..... 750.28
— – 752–754. Trollope, A. Can you forgive her?.. 750.35
— – 755, 756. Wood, *Mrs.* H. Oswald Cray ..... 750.30
— – 757. Craik, D. (M.) M. Christian's mistake .... 750.26
— – 758, 759. Lemon, M. Loved at last ..... 750.24
— – 761, 762. Lever, C. (J.) Luttrell of Arran ..... 750.25
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— – 768, 769. Yonge, C. M. The clever woman of the family ..... 710.32
— – 770, 771. Riddell, J. H. George Geith of Fen court..... 750.27
— – 772, 773. Cudlip, A., *formerly Miss Thomas.* On guard..... 750.29
— – 774, 775. Jenkin, *Mrs.* C. Once and again.... 480.67
— – 776, 777. Kingsley, H. The Hillyars and the Burtons ..... 750.38
— – 778, 779. Braddon, M. E. Only a clod..... 480.68
— – 781, 782. Le Fanu, J. S. Uncle Silas..... 750.39
— – 783, 784. Wood, *Mrs.* H. Mildred Arkell..... 750.40
— – 785, 786. Edwards, A. B. Miss Carew..... 710.44
— – 787, 788. Ainsworth, W. H. Spanish match. 750.36
— – 789. Edwards, A. B. Hand and glove..... 710.49
— – 790, 791. Church, F., *formerly Miss Marryat.* Love's conflict..... 730.83
— – 792. Kimball, R. B. Was he successful? .... 720.26
— – 793, 794. Fullerton, *Lady* G. Constance Sherwood..... 710.42
— – 795, 796. Edwards, A. B. Half a million of money. 710.43
— – 797, 798. Dixon, W. H. The Holy Land.....1108.16
— – 799. Denise ..... 750.41
— – 801, 802. MacDonald, G. Alec Forbes of Howglen..... 710.35
— – 803, 804. Le Fanu, J. S. Guy Deverell..... 710.34
— – 805, 806. Oliphant, M. (O. W.) Agnes..... 710.50
— – 807. Craik, D. (M.) M. Bread upon the waters; A family in love; A low marriage; The double house ..... 710.33
— – 808. — A noble life... 710.31
— – 815. Crai
Unwin's or
— – 816, 817.
E. Sir Ja
— – 818, 819.
H. St. Ma
— – 820, 821.
M. Olive
— – 822. Ki
Leighton
— – 823, 824.
Falkner Ly
— – 825, 826.
A. Sans
— – 827, 828.
Common s
— – 829, 830.
Hereward
— – 831, 832.
*formerly*
Walter Go
— – 834, 835.
The dove
nest.....
— – 836, 837.
J. W. Ce
— – 838–840.
W. Arma
— – 841, 842.
H. Constabl
— – 843, 844.
E. The la
— – 845, 846.
H. Elster
— – 847–849.
Reliques o
lish poetry
— – 850. Alb
bert Augus
uel), *pri*
Speeches a
— – 851–853.
Wives and
— – 854, 855.
Land at las
— – 856, 857.
J. W. Th
— – 858, 859.
Sybil's sec
— – 860, 861.
The gain c
— – 862, 863.
Broken to
— – 864, 865.
The race f
— – 866, 867.
Tony Butl
— – 868, 869.
*formerly*
For ever a
— – 870. Crai
The two m
— – 871, 872.
(O.W.) M
— – 873, 874.
B. Archie

ves, M. J.
e Floss... 410.44
r W. The
..... 430.33
ge, S. T.
..... 1409.7
er, C. (J.)
Con Cre-
..... 420.33
wthorne,
ation.... 720.48
ns, M. S.
..... 720.28
ves, G. H.
common
..... 158.5
llope, A.
nd..... 430.63
th, W. H.
nge..... 720.2
G. J. W.
..... 480.62
A. The
..... 430.66
ins, (W.)
white... 490.24
ille, G. J.
ouse .... 430.20
t, *Sir* W.
Peak.... 430.40
wer-Lyt-
L. Dra-
..... 1389.3
r, C. (J.)
..... 720.25
(M.) M.
nd..... 430.22
. (J. H.)
Uncom-
r..... 410.31
ffini, G.
..... 720.34
ge, C. M.
..... 720.47
E. C.
..... 720.17
Senti-
..... 720.49
, *Sir* W.
..... 1329.2
kens, C.
expecta-
..... 720.50
H. Per-
of Lord
..... 1579.3
. J. Si-
..... 720.54
lope, A.
ge..... 720.53
Doc-
..... 730.3
, C. (J.)
..... 720.51
Robert-
nons...2109.14

— – 565, 566. No church.. 720.57
— – 567. Clive, C. Why Paul Ferroll killed his wife..... 720.52
— – 568. Craik, D. (M.) M. Romantic tales..... 730.4
— – 569, 570. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) A strange story..... 480.61
— – 571. Ruffini, G. Lorenzo Benoni..... 730.2
— – 572, 573. Lever, C. (J.) Sir Jasper Carew..... 720.59
— – 574–576. Wood, *Mrs.* H. East Lynne..... 730.1
— – 577. The two Cosmos. 730.12
— – 578, 579. James, G. P. R. The step-mother... 420.14
— – 580. Thackeray, W. M. The four Georges; Lovel the widower..... 720.58
— – 581. Martha Brown... 730.7
— – 582. Kavanagh, J. French women of letters. 1609.1
— – 583. Melville, G. J. W. Digby Grand..... 730.10
— – 584. Craik, D. (M.) M. Domestic stories..... 480.63
— – 585, 586. Oliphant, M. (O. W.) The last of the Mortimers..... 730.13
— – 587–589. Brooks, (C.) S. The silver cord.... 730.9
— – 590, 591. Melville, G. J. W. Good for nothing. 730.11
— – 592. Wraxall, *Sir* (C. F.) L. Wild oats..... 730.14
— – 593, 594. Yonge, C. M. The last of the cavaliers. 730.15
— – 595–598. Richardson, S. Clarissa..... 480.64
— – 599–600. Wood, *Mrs.* H. The Channings.... 730.18
— – 604, 605. Aïdé, H. Carr of Carrlyon..... 730.22
— – 603. Brown, J. Horæ subsecivæ. Rab and his friends and other papers. 730.21
— – 606–608. Trollope, A. North America..... 1639.22
— – 609. Dickens, C. (J. H.), and others. Christmas stories..... 730.20
— – 610–612. Trollope, A. Orley farm..... 750.34
— – 613. Essays and reviews..... 1839.1
— – 614, 615. Ainsworth, W. H. The lord mayor of London..... 730.16
— – 616, 617. Mademoiselle Mori..... 730.26
— – 618, 619. Kingsley, H. Ravenshoe..... 730.27
— – 620. Collins, (W.) W. Basil..... 730.28

W.) Margaret Maitland. 730.37
— – 627, 628. Melville, G. J. W. Queen's Maries. 730.34
— – 629, 630. Thackeray, W. M. Philip..... 730.33
— – 631–633. Collins, (W.) W. No name..... 730.30
— – 634. Craik, D. (M.) M. Mistress and maid..... 730.36
— – 635, 636. Braddon, M. E. Lady Audley's secret. 730.24
— – 637–639. Lady Morgan's memoirs..... 589.29
— – 640, 641. Wood, *Mrs.* H. Mrs. Haliburton's troubles..... 730.32
— – 642. Kimball, R. B. Undercurrents..... 720.30
— – 643. Macleod, N. The old lieutenant and his son..... 730.35
— – 644, 645. Gaskell, E. C. Sylvia's lovers..... 730.31
— – 646, 647. Braddon, M. E. Aurora Floyd..... 730.43
— – 648–651, 974–977. Kinglake, A. W. Invasion of the Crimea..... 1999.4
— – 652, 653. Lever, C. (J.) Barrington..... 730.42
— – 654–656. Wood, *Mrs.* H. Verner's pride..... 730.41
— – 657. Gaskell, E. C. A dark night's work..... 730.48
— – 658, 659. Sewell, E. M. A glimpse of the world. 730.50
— – 660. Mackarness, M. A., *formerly Miss Planché.* Sunbeam stories.. 730.47
— – 661, 662. Norton, *Hon. Mrs.* C. (E. S.) Lost and saved..... 730.45
— – 663, 664. Tautphoeus, *Baroness* I. von. At odds..... 730.53
— – 665, 666. Ainsworth, W. H. Cardinal Pole.. 730.46
— – 667. Craik, D. (M.) M. The Ogilvies..... 730.44
— – 668, 669. Braddon, M. E. Eleanor's victory.. 730.51
— – 670, 671. Ruffini, G. Vincenzo..... 480.65
— – 672. Lawrence, G. A. Border and Bastille.... 730.49
— – 673, 674. Kavanagh, J. Queen Mab..... 730.56
— – 675. Jenkin, *Mrs.* C. Skirmishing..... 730.52
— – 676. Kingsley, H. Austin Elliot..... 480.66
— – 677. Thackeray, *Miss* (A. I.) The story of Elizabeth..... 750.5
— – 678, 679. Collins, (W.) W. Antonina..... 730.60

— — 295, 296. Marsh-Caldwell, A. Aubrey..... 430.13
— — 298–300. Lever, C. (J.) The Dodd family abroad. 420.36
— — 302. Ainsworth, W. H. The flitch of bacon..... 410.3
— — 304. Cummins, M. S. The lamplighter..... 430.77
— — 307. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Hard times ..... 410.30
— — 308. Warner, S. The wide, wide world ..... 420.48
— — 310. Kimball, R. B. Romance of student life abroad ..... 720.22
— — 311, 312. Warner, S. Queechy..... 420.54
— — 314. Pike, M. H. Ida May..... 420.44
— — 316, 317. Gore, *Mrs.* (C. G. F.) Mammon... 410.63
— — 318, 319. Yonge, C. M. The heir of Redclyffe... 430.75
— — 320, 321. Kavanagh, J. Grace Lee ..... 420.19
— — 322, 323. Yonge, C. M. Heartsease ..... 430.74
— — 324. Irving, W. Chronicles of Wolfert's roost. 410.17
— — 325, 326. Marsh-Caldwell, A. The heiress of Haughton ..... 430.17
— — 328, 329. Kingsley, C. Westward ho!..... 420.29
— — 330. Bunyan, J. Pilgrim's proges ..... 410.15
— — 333. Gaskell, E. C. North and South..... 410.56
— — 335. — Lizzie Leigh; and other tales..... 410.54
— — 342, 349, 368, 406, 484. Irving, W. Life of George Washington.... 1579.7
— — 344. Kavanagh, J. Rachel Gray..... 420.21
— — 347, 348, 687. Longfellow, H. W. Poetical works.....1409.15
— — 350, 360, 380, 390. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Little Dorrit..... 410 32
— — 351, 352. Warner, S. Hills of the Shatemuc... 730.19
— — 355, 356. Yonge, C. M. The daisy chain..... 720.46
— — 358. Dickens, C. (J. H.) The battle of life, and The haunted man..... 720.7
— — 361–363. Lever, C. (J.) Martins of Cro' Martin. 420.39
— — 364. Clive, C. Paul Ferrold..... 430.28
— — 365, 366. Marsh-Caldwell, A. Evelyn Marston. 430.16
— — 367. Collins, (W.) W. After dark..... 410.20
416, 427, 437, 461, 475, 481. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Novels and tales from Household words ..... 450.2
— — 378. Ainsworth, W. H. The spendthrift..... 410.7
— — 381, 382. Kingsley, C. Two years ago..... 420.28
— — 384, 385. Gaskell, E. C. Life of C. Brontë..... 596.16
— — 387, 388. Gore, *Mrs.* (C. G. F.) Life's lessons. 410.62
— — 389. Still waters..... 430.49
— — 391, 392. Yonge, C. M. Dynevor terrace..... 430.73
— — 393, 394. Lever, C. (J.) Fortunes of Glencore .. 420.37
— — 395, 396. Marsh-Caldwell, A. The rose of Ashurst ..... 430.19
— — 397, 398. Craik, D. (M.) M. John Halifax, gentleman ..... 430.24
— — 399, 400. Sewell, E. M. Amy Herbert ..... 430.44
— — 401. Dorothy ..... 410.42
— — 402, 403. Gore, *Mrs.* (C. G. F.) The two aristocrats ..... 410.65
— — 404. Brontë, C. The professor ..... 410.11
— — 405. Macaulay, T. B., *lord.* Biographical essays..... 589.27
— — 407, 417, 440, 453. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) What will he do with it? 420.62
— — 410. Cummins, M. S. Mabel Vaughan..... 410.19
— — 411. De Cressey..... 720.6
— — 412. Lutfullah. Edited by E. B. Eastwick..... 430.1
— — 413, 414. Kingsley, C. Hypatia ..... 420.27
— — 415. — Alton Locke... 420.26
— — 418, 419. Johnson, S. Lives of the English poets ..... 589.26
— — 420–422. Kavanagh, J. Adèle..... 420.17
— — 423, 424. Craik, D. (M.) M. The head of the family..... 430.23
— — 425, 441, 470, 477. Thackeray, W. M. The Virginians..... 720.43
— — 426. Scott, *Sir* W. Black dwarf..... 430.35
— — 428, 429. Tautphoeus, *Baroness* I. von. Quits. 430.52
— — 430. Hughes, T. Tom Brown's school days.... 410.67
— — 431, 432. Gore, *Mrs.* (C. G. F.) Heckington. 410.61
— — 433. Clive, C. Year after year..... 430.72

— — 154–156. Lever, C. (J.) Tom Burke of "Ours".. 420.42
— — 157–159. Thackeray, W. M. Vanity fair.... 430.60
— — 160, 161. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) King Arthur ..... 1409.10
— — 162, 163. Ainsworth, W. H. Lancashire witches. 410.4
— — 164. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) The new Timon. Lady of Lyons. 1338.19
— — 165, 166. Lever, C. (J.) Jack Hinton ..... 720.24
— — 167–169. Thackeray, W. M. Pendennis..... 430.59
— — 170. Marryat, F. Valerie ..... 430.12
— — 171, 197, 345, 353, 354, 369, 379, 408. Thackeray, W. M. Miscellanies ..... 720.42
— — 172–174, 337–341, 542, 543. Macaulay, T. B., *lord.* History of England from the accession of James II..... 1966.1
— — 175–177. Dickens, C. (J. H.) David Copperfield..... 410.28
— — 178, 179. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) The Caxtons..... 420.45
— — 180, 181. Brontë, C. Shirley..... 410.12
— — 182. Gaskell, E. C. Mary Barton..... 410.55
— — 183, 184. Gardiner, M., *countess of Blessington.* Country quarters..... 410.49
— — 185–189. Macaulay, T. B., *lord.* Critical and historical essays..... 1966.3
— — 190. D'Arblay, F. Evelina ..... 410.23
— — 191. Irving, W. Life of Mahomet..... 1579.4
— — 192. — Lives of the successors of Mahomet. 1579.5
— — 193.—Oliver Goldsmith. 1579.6
— — 194. Milton, J. Poetical works ..... 1409.8
— — 195, 196. Kavanagh, J. Nathalie..... 420.20
— — 198. Macaulay, T. B., *lord.* Lays of ancient Rome ..... 1409.16
— — 199, 206, 208, 211–213, 216, 217, 220–222, 227, 231, 236, 238, 248, 251, 265, 268, 278, 281, 291, 297, 301, 303, 305, 309, 313, 327, 331, 334, 336, 343, 346, 357, 359. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Household words ..... 1879.1
— — 207. Kingsley, C. Yeast. 420.36
— — 209, 210. Norton, *Hon. Mrs.* C. (E. S.) Stuart of Dunleath ..... 720.32
— — 214. Warren, S. The lily and the bee..... 430.70
— — 218, 219. Marsh-Caldwell, A. Ravenscliffe.. 430.18
— — 224, 225. Jerrold, D. St. Giles and St. James. 420.15
— — 226. Hawthorne, N. The scarlet letter..... 420.25
— — 228, 229. Jerrold, D. Men of character..... 720.21
— — 230, 237, 260, 276. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Bleak house ..... 410.26
— — 232–235. Lever, C. (J.) The Daltons..... 420.34
— — 239, 240. Warburton, E. Crescent and cross. 430.68
— — 241, 242. Marsh-Caldwell, A. Emilia Wyndham..... 430.15
— — 243, 244. Stowe, H. (E.) B. Uncle Tom's cabin..... 430.79
— — 245, 246. Thackeray, W. M. Henry Esmond. 430.57
— — 249, 250. Marsh-Caldwell, A. Castle Avon.. 430.14
— — 252, 253. Warburton, E. Darien ..... 430.69
— — 254, 255. Gaskell, E. C. Ruth ..... 410.57
— — 256, 257. Brontë, C. Villette ..... 410.13
— — 258, 259. Fullerton, *Lady* G. Lady-bird .... 410.48
— — 261, 262. Gore, *Mrs.* (C. G. F.) The dean's daughter ..... 410.60
— — 263, 264. Kavanagh, J. Daisy Burns..... 420.18
— — 266, 267. Stowe, H. (E.) B. A key to Uncle Tom's cabin..... 430.80
— — 269–275. Stanhope, P. H., *earl.* History of England, 1713–83..... 1966.6
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— — 282, 283. Tautphoeus, *Baroness* I. von. Cyrilla. 720.41
— — 284, 285. Macaulay, T. B., *lord.* Speeches .... 1966.4
— — 286, 287. Ainsworth, W. H. The star-chamber.. 410.8
— — 288, 289. Tautphoeus, *Baroness* I. von. The initials ..... 430.51

Amyot, T. ..... 342.24
TAMING of the shrew. Shakespeare, W. ..v. 2 of 313.1 322.3; v. 1 of 322.4; v. 3 of 325.1 v. 3 of 326.1; v. 3 of 326.2 v. 2 of 359.18; v. 2 of 394.7 v. 2 of 1326.1; v. 4 of 1394.1
TANCRED and Sigismunda. Thomson, J. .....v. 2 of 331.1 v. 13 of 354.1; v. 14 of 1389.1
TANNEHILL, W. Sketches of the history of literature. 402.8
TANNHÄUSER. Bulwer-Lytton, (E.) R. .....v. 1 of 1339.13
TAPESTRIED chamber. Scott, *Sir* W.....v. 6 of 902.1
TAPPAN, W. B. Poems .... 369.10
TARIFF, Count, Trial and conviction of. Addison, J. .....v. 4 of 847.7
TARLTON, R. Jests, and News out of purgatory. 342.19
TARTARY. Cochrane, J. D. Pedestrian tour through Siberian..... 830.46
— Huc, É R. Journey through.409.10; 879.6, 7; 1655.8
TASK, The. Cowper, W. v. 1 of 312.1; v. 9 of 337.1 346.15; v. 2 of 358.22 v. 2 of 358.23; v. 2 of 369.12 v. 6 of 817.11; v. 2 of 1316.10
TASSO, T. Godfrey of Bulloigne: or, the recovery of Jerusalem. Lond. 2 v. 850.19
— - Same. N. Y. ..... 317.2
— Jerusalem delivered. Translated by J. Hoole. Lond. 2 v. ..... 317.16
— - - Same. Newburyport. 2 v. ..... 317.1
— - Same. Translated by J. H. Wiffen. Lond. ... 835.1
— - - Same. N. Y. ..... 317.4
— - Same. Translated by A. C. Robertson ..... 317.3
— Byron, G. (G. N.), *lord.* Lament of .....v. 4 of 323.2 v. 5 of 347.1; v. 4 of 358.29 v. 3 of 1409.2
— Goethe, J. W. von. Torquato Tasso ..... 838.5
TASSONI, A. La secchia rapita; or, the rape of the bucket. 2 v. ..... 345.4
TASTE. Foote, S. .....v. 5 of 331.1 1389.2
TASTE, Chapters on. Bache, R. M. ..... 1398.2
TASTE for the picturesque among the Greeks. Cope, E. M. ..... 873.13
TATLER, The. Steele, *Sir* R. v. 1–5 of 850.24; 873.11

*See also* Addison, J.

— - 4. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) Eugene Aram..... 420.50
— - 5. Cooper, J. F. The spy..... 780.35
— - 6. Marryat, F. Jacob Faithful ..... 720.31
— - 7. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) Paul Clifford. 420.59
— - 8–12. Byron, G. (G. N.), *lord.* Works ..... 1409.2
— - 13. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) Zanoni .... 420.63
— - 14. — The last days of Pompeii ..... 420.55
— - 15. Cooper, J. F. The two admirals ..... 780.36
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— - 18. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) Ernest Maltravers ..... 420.49
— - 19. — Alice ..... 420.43
— - 20. — Eva, and the pilgrims of the Rhine..... 420.51
— - 21. — Devereux..... 420.46
— - 22. Goldsmith, O. Select works.....1409.12
— - 23. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) Godolphin and Falkland ..... 420.52
— - 24. Marryat, F. Percival Keene ..... 430.7
— - 25. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) *Rienzi..... 420.61
— - 26–30. Moore, T. Poetical works ..... 394.8
— - 31. Marryat, F. Peter Simple ..... 430.8
— - 32. Dickens, C. (J. H.) American notes for general circulation ..... 410.25
— - 33. Irving, W. Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon. 387.11
— - 34. Cooper, J. F. The Jack o'Lantern (Le Feufollet)..... 780.44
— - 35. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) Night and morning ..... 720.29
— - 36. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Oliver Twist..... 410.36
— - 37. James, G. P. R. Forest days ..... 420.7
— - 38, 39. Bulwer-Lytton, E. (G. E. L.) The last of the barons ..... 420.56
— - 40–46. Shakespeare, W. Plays and poems..... 394.7
— - 47, 48. Dickens, C. (J. H.) Nicholas Nickleby. 410.35
— - 49. Marryat, F. Japhet in search of a father.... 430.5

sieur Violet..
— - 54, 55. Bul E. (G. E. L
— - 56. James Arabella Stu
— - 57, 58. Dic H.) Martin
— - 59. Schille von. Poems
— - 60, 61. F Tom Jones .
— - 62. Ainswo Windsor cas
— - 63. Swift, ver's travels
— - 64. Ainswo Saint James'
— - 65. James Rose d'Albre
— - 66. — Arral
— - 67. Disrael ningsby ....
— - 68. Marry settlers in C
— - 69, 70. Ga *countess of* Strathern ..
— - 71, 72. Passages fro of a late phy
— - 73. James Agincourt ..
— - 74. De Foe inson Crusoe
— - 75. Scott, verley .....
— - 76. — Antiq
— - 77. — Ivanh
— - 78. — Kenil
— - 79. James, The smuggle
— - 80–82. Wari thousand a y
— - 83. Disrael
— - 84. Marry mission ....
— - 85, 86. Jan The step-mo
— - 87. Scott, Quentin Dur
— - 88. Smolle erick Randor
— - 89. Lever, O'Donoghue
— - 90. Burns, works .....
— - 91. Dicken A Christma prose.....
— - 92. Smollet phry Clinker
— - 93. Disrael tarini Flemi
— - 94–96. Dic H.) Master clock.....

A. ..... 899.19
rations and
v. ..... 866.7
es and ad-
..... 866.8
emin, A. .. 149.13
Forde; J.
53.9; v. 2 of 359.7
ons at the
h of a uni-
Boyd, A.
.....1908.15
poetry. Al-
?.....1347.26
..... 1859.3
for house-
.....1118.3–8
e Class list for
d professions.
shadow in
Smith, M.
.....1816.16
. Triplet,
.....1377.18
rs about.
..... 817.1
. Æschy-
.....359.6; 814.6
Euripides.
4.9; v. 2 of 830.15
is. Jones;
..1369.10; 1388.41
ter. Scott,
.....v. 6 of 902.1
*See* How-
nd. Hoad-
.....v. 4 of 331.1
54.1; v. 7 of 1389.1
ındis. De
.....895.1, 2
iet family.
1; 1378.6; 1379.27
ick Turpin
g.....1377.17
s..... 359.10
Animals in
..... 398.19
l classifica-
als..... 398.17
ıstincts of
..... 408.4
y and clas-
birds. 2 v. 398.20
y and clas-
uadrupeds. 398.18
y of fishes,
and rep-
..... 408.1
al history. 398.16
th the bi-
ologists.. 408.5
dacology.. 408.2
W. E.
atural ar-
Insects... 408.3

Kenney, J. 1368.1; 1378.7; 1388.2
SWIFT, J. Poetical works. Lond. 3 v. ..... 329.12
— – Same. Bost. 3 v. .... 1319.2
— Gulliver's travels..... 833.13
— Jeffrey, F., *lord*. Review of the works of..409.3; 1655.16
— Scott, *Sir* W. Life of. v. 8 of 902.1
SWINBURNE, A. C. Atalanta in Calydon..... 1347.2
— Chastelard .....1347.11
— Laus Veneris, and other poems and ballads ..... 1346.7
— The queen-mother and Rosamond.....1347.31
— A song of Italy..... 1329.4
SWINDELL, J. G. Well-digging, boring, and pump-work..... 819.22
"SWINGIN round the cirkle." Locke, D. R. ..... 1886.2
SWINTON, W. Rambles among words. N. Y. 1859..... 396 6
— – Same. N. Y. 1864.... 393.15
Swiss cottage. Bayly, T. H.1376.10
Swiss family Robinson. Wyss, J. R. von ..... 1859.2
Swiss swains. Webster, B. 1377.4 1378.4; 1379.19
SWITZERLAND. Ferguson, R. Swiss men and mountains .....409.26; 1655.1
— Goethe, J. W. von. Letters from.....v. 2 of 838.3
— Inglis, H. D. Switzerland in 1830..... 830.65
— Laing, S. Social and political state of...409.14; 1655.3
— Montgomery, J. Wanderer of..... 311.5 v. 2 of 312.1; v. 1 of 1317.12
— Vieusseux, A. History of..... 365.9
— Wilson, J. History of.. 368.7
SYDENHAM, Locke and. *See* Brown, J..... 894.13
SYLVA sylvarum. Bacon, F., *lord* .....v. 2 of 901.2
SYLVIA. Read, T. B. ..... 349.13
SYMES, M. Embassy to the kingdom of Ava, 1795. Added, [H. G. Bell's] Narrative of late operations in the Birmese empire. 2 v..... 830.29
SYNAGOGUE, The. Herbert, G. ..... 345.18
SYNONYMES. Crabb, G. English ..... 403.1
— Graham, G. F. English. 403.9
— Roget, P. M. Thesaurus of English words..... 403.13
— Taylor, W. English synonyms discriminated... 406.15

L. ..... 889.25
TABLE-TALK; or, selections from the ana..... 830.30
TABLE-TALK. Book of..... 840.2
— Ccleridge, S. T. Table talk .....v. 6 of 886.2
— Cowper, W. Table talk. v. 1 of 319.7; v. 8 of 337.1 346.15; v. 1 of 358.22 v. 1 of 358.23; v. 1 of 1316.10
— Hazlitt, W. Table talk. v. 1, 2 of 867.2; 877.14
— Hunt, (J. H.) Leigh. Table-talk..... 905.4
— Luther, M. Table talk. 837.8; 877.15
— Napoléon I. Table talk and opinions.....1819.14
— Rogers, S. Table-talk.. 877.16
— Selden, J. Table-talk... 877.17
TABLEAUX vivants. Head, J. H..... 385.22
TACITUS, C. C. Works. N. Y. 872.11
— – Same. Lond. 2 v. ... 834.17
TAGGART, C. Poems..... 338.12
TAILOR, R. The hog hath lost his pearl.....v. 3 of 331.2
TAKE care of little Charley. Brougham, J. ..1377.2; 1388.23
TALE of eternity. Massey, G. .....1329.33
TALE of Paraguay. Southey, R. .....311.3, 13 v. 3 of 312.1; v. 7 of 1318.7
TALES and takings. Watson, J. V. ..... 897.10
TALES and traditions of the South. Simms, W. G. v. 1 of 348.3
TALES from Shakespeare. Lamb, C. and M..... 840.29
TALES of a grandfather. Scott, *Sir* W. .....v. 7 of 902.1
TALES of a traveller. Irving, W.....v. 4 of 377.1 397.9–11; 889.27; 901.1
TALES of a wayside inn. Longfellow, H. W..... 373.21 843.8; v. 2 of 1409.15
TALES of the day. Vol. 1.. 851.2
TALES of the factories. Southey, C. A. (B.) .... 385.9
TALES of the genii. Ridley, J..... 835.10
TALFOURD, F. Shylock, or the merchant of Venice preserved .....1376.11 1378.4; 1388.23
TALFOURD, T. N. Critical and miscellaneous writings. Phil..... 863.9
— – Same. Bost..... 1815.2
— Ion.....356.13; 1367.1
TALISMAN. Scott, *Sir* W. v. 5 of 902.1